

THE MILITANT

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Post-Cambodia upsurge brought historic changes

—see analysis page 8—

N.Y. pro and antiwar rallies mark breach

Antiwar breakthrough in union movement

—report and analysis, page 6



N. Y. building trades bureaucrats whip up jingo hysteria



Photos by Howard Petrick

The response: First labor-organized antiwar demonstration

Unionists join in sponsoring antiwar parley

DETROIT, May 25—Trade unionists and antiwar leaders issued a call here today for an Emergency National Conference Against the Cambodia-Laos-Vietnam War to be held in Cleveland during the weekend of June 19-21. The conference was announced at a news conference held at the Michigan AFL-CIO headquarters and attended by state AFL-CIO president August Scholle. Scholle told the assembled TV, radio and newspaper reporters that the labor movement must assume the responsibility of joining with the students in opposing the war.

The Emergency Conference will be the first national antiwar meeting with significant trade union sponsorship.

Conference sponsors present at today's press conference included attorney James Lafferty, chairman of the Detroit Coalition to End the War Now; David Mitchell, state representative of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Grady Glenn, president of Ford Local 600 Frame Unit, UAW; Father John Nowlan, director

of the Human Rights Division, Detroit archdiocese and David Chamberlain, Student Mobilization Committee.

National sponsors of the Emergency Conference include Prof. Noam Chomsky of MIT; attorney Jerry Gordon, chairman, Cleveland Area Peace Action Council; Leo Fenster, secretary, Cleveland District Auto Council, UAW; Sam Pollock, president, District Union 427, Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcherworkmen; John T. Williams, vice-president and business agent, Los Angeles Teamsters Local 208; Jerry Lennon, representative, AFSCME Council 42, Los Angeles; and August Kerber, president, Local 1295, American Federation of Teachers, Detroit.

"In this historic crisis for humanity," the call to the Emergency Conference states, "it is imperative that the American antiwar movement be a beacon light for the tens of millions of Americans who will join the struggle to end the war if given leadership."

"The purpose of the Emergency Confer-

ence," the call declares, "is simple and to the point: to plan antiwar demonstrations and other antiwar activities of the most massive kind centering on the crucial issue of withdrawal from the war and conducted in a peaceful and orderly fashion."

"This conference," the call concludes, "is not intended to solve or even necessarily to discuss all the problems of our crisis-ridden society. It is not a conference to hammer out the strategy or tactics of social revolution or to found a new political party or movement. It is a conference to organize massive opposition to the war. All those who want to see such opposition organized are welcome to participate, regardless of their political ideas or affiliation."

The Emergency Conference will be hosted by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council. Individuals and organizations who wish to participate and/or join in sponsoring the conference should write to CAPAC, 2102 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115.

I just open my eyes to see the horror

Letter from Camranh Bay

New York, N. Y.

Veterans for Peace in Vietnam received the following letter from a serviceman stationed at a hospital in Camranh Bay. It was in answer to a mailing we sent out to vets and GIs concerning the April 15 demonstrations:

"There are many, many GIs here who, like myself, feel that what they witness every day is wrong. Since anti-war demonstrations on a military base are not looked upon too highly by Uncle Sam's boys, we have to be cool. This does not mean that we will just sit back and allow your people to carry the entire burden alone; our conscience prevents this.

"Many of us feel this problem more acutely than people stateside. We cannot just turn off our radio or TV and forget the war. I just have to open my eyes and look in any direction to see the horror. This situation helps cultivate antiwar feeling.

"Most GIs who lean this way are afraid to speak out and talk of 'When I get out' as the time to protest or show dissatisfaction. They are afraid of the grossly unfair punishment the military is likely to dish out. (We are all slightly paranoid; 'they' might be watching.)

"Our greatest enemy here is not the Viet Cong, it's our own commanders. Here's an example:

"Recently our wing commander (the 'Big' man on base) had a \$15,000 tennis court built near the officer's quarters. A tennis court! Meanwhile I am living in conditions not fit for humans. The burning time for our two story, wooden barracks is just three to five minutes. Also, all the bunkers on base have been condemned, with no replacements built!

"As a medic I am spared the problem of finding out if I could ever shoot another human being; for this I am thankful.

"In this position, I do witness the greatest tragedy of the war, that is, the suffering of the Vietnamese people. Every time I see a child wounded or maimed, my first reaction is rage, which settles then into a stronger determination to stop this murderous farce.

"The American military machine has completely ruined the Vietnamese culture, and forced these people to live as whores, thieves and black marketers. Once beautiful temples, churches and homes lie in ruin. American gar-

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

Page lines every street. How Washington can call this destruction 'help' is far beyond my comprehension. Our leaders in Washington are either incredibly naive or incredibly stupid, probably both."

Ron Wolin, coordinator
Veterans for Peace in Vietnam

Special issue sells fast

Gainesville, Fla.

Three cheers to *The Militant* staff for excellent specials! We are happy to report that all 200 of our bundle of the "Eyewitness" [May 15 issue] sold in little over an hour after delivery! Keep up the good work!

F. L.

A happy subscriber

Austin, Texas

I am a very happy subscriber and wish to congratulate *The Militant* on a brilliant paper. It covers all the different revolutions—youth and anti-war movements, Black, Chicano, women's liberation movement, labor—and the wars in Southeast Asia and Israel.

If you know how I can subscribe to *The Black Panther*, please let me know.

A Black militant

[Subscription rates to *The Black Panther* are \$2.50, \$5.00, and \$7.50 for 3 months, 6 months and one year respectively. Write to Ministry of Information, Black Panther Party, Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, Ca. 94126.—Editor]

Detroit Bell Building — 'penal colony'

Detroit, Mich.

The telephone company here in Detroit is much the same as elsewhere, and the Communications Workers of America is like most other unions. This combination of circumstances makes for a rather explosive situation at the downtown center of the company, known as the Bell Building.

Traditionally the Bell Building is referred to as the "penal colony" where those who don't shape up in the suburbs are sentenced to serve their time. There are reasons. First is oversupervision, a chronic disease at Bell Building. Second is "commute money," paid according to the distance your job is from the Bell Building. This means that a man living in the suburbs may work a block from home and collect 30 tax-free "commute" dollars weekly, while his next-door buddy drives 25 or 30 miles a day to work at the Bell Building and collects nothing.

Other reasons for unrest at Bell Building are frustration with the way the union handles grievances (or doesn't handle them) and the low base pay.

The oldtimers in the Bell Building pass on their antagonisms to the younger workers. Many of these young workers are Black Vietnam vets, hardly ready to accept these conditions.

Recently at a specially called meeting of CWA Local 4090, the union bureaucrats had to face the angry members from Bell Building. Accusations, cross-examinations, and epithets were hurled against these impervious officials. A union representative from another area remarked, "I didn't know Payne was hated so much. Maybe I ought to run for president next time. At least I would get the votes of these hardnoses." This tells something about our self-seeking officials.

Most important was the fact that 15 or 20 Black union members were present, almost all from Bell Building. This is a big change from a short time ago. Militancy is growing. It is beginning to organize.

Power to the workers.

A Bell worker

Correction (I)

Houston, Texas

I wish to make a correction in Randy Furst's article concerning the student strike at the University of Texas as reported in *The Militant* April 24. The strike in Houston was at the University of *Houston*, not the University of Texas, which is a radical campus located in Austin, Texas. The strike was a new and significant expression of antiwar sentiment never before shown on this campus.

A. S.

Correction (II)

Millbrook, N. Y.

In the letter I wrote about the upstate boys' school something seems to have been inadvertently badly garbled. While I wrote about a *rich* boys' school, this had somehow become transformed into a *sick* boys' school. This is a grievous error. My whole point was to show that we are approaching a time when even the wealthier boys are so deeply disturbed about the current situation, especially the War in Vietnam, that they are eager to do something about it and are becoming politically active. This is true of members of the faculty, too, but is most notable in the youth.

S. A.

New subscriber sells subs

Bowling Green, Ky.

I have found several people interested in a trial subscription to *The Militant*. Since I do not have the proper subscription blanks, I am sending their names and addresses along with the request that these four new subscriptions be credited to the Atlanta SWP-YSA quota.

I first became acquainted with the YSA while in Atlanta attending a conference. Though I have only been a subscriber to *The Militant* for two weeks, I have enjoyed it greatly.

W. M. S.

[Subscription blanks can be obtained from The Militant Business Office, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Subscription orders will, of course, be processed whether or not a blank is used.
—Editor]

Support for antiwar coverage

Philadelphia, Pa.

Please find enclosed \$5 for a one-year subscription and a small donation to help defray the extra costs of your antiwar coverage. As my financial situation improves, I hope to send you more.

Concerning Kent State, I can only recall Joe Hill's last letter — "Don't mourn, organize!"

H. O.

THE MILITANT

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Closing news date — May 25

For the most complete selection of the speeches and/or writings of:

Che Malcolm Trotsky

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GIs SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE WAR

The Case of the Ft. Jackson Eight interviews by Fred Halstead

AN INSIDE LOOK AT ARMY LIFE, THE VIETNAM WAR, AND THE THINKING OF TODAY'S CITIZEN SOLDIERS.

This book tells the story of what happens when GIs fight for their constitutional rights to assemble and speak out against the war in Vietnam. It contains interviews with leaders of GIs United Against the War at Fort Jackson and Fort Bragg, in which they tell why they organized, and how. All of them figured in the case of the Ft. Jackson Eight in which the Army tried to victimize the antiwar GIs and then backed down. The case went into the federal courts and resulted in a new Army directive on how to deal with dissent in the ranks. The introduction is by attorney Michael Smith.

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Black student conference sponsored by Panthers

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW HAVEN, Conn. — May 19, the birthday of Brother Malcolm X, saw the climax of the four-day Black Student Revolutionary Conference here, sponsored by the Black Panther Party. Close to 500 students attended one or another session, all of which were held at Yale University. On the last day, two bus loads of Harlem youth came in to attend the closing rally.

The purpose of the conference, which began May 16, was to draw Black students into the defense of Panther political prisoners, especially BPP chairman Bobby Seale. Seale and eight other Panthers are scattered in jails across the state of Connecticut, framed up on charges of murdering another Panther. Dharuba represented the New York Panther 21, who are being tried on charges, trumped up by the Lindsay administration, of conspiring to blow up department stores.

The students came principally from New York and the East Coast, but included some from Ohio and Michigan and a bus load from Malcolm X Community College in Chicago. Some of the colleges represented were: Princeton, Penn State, U Massachusetts, Boston U, Colgate, Pratt College, Queens College, and Staten Island Community College.

Although the conference was not as big as expected, it was the first East Coast regional gathering of Black students. A spokesman for the National Association of Black Students, NABS, announced that a national Black stu-

dent conference would be held in Detroit next month, June 26-July 5. NABS was formed last year when Black students split from the National Student Association, NSA.

The conference really began on Sunday, May 17, with four workshops. Only one, led by Dharuba, was devoted to discussion of Black political prisoners. The rest of the workshops took up the program and ideology of the Black Panther Party. They were led by Bashir of the New York Panthers, Elaine Brown of the Southern California BPP, and Masai, BPP minister of education. That night a panel on revolutionary nationalism vs. cultural nationalism was held.

The Panthers were fully entitled to raise and discuss their program and ideology, but unfortunately this discussion almost completely obscured the primary purpose of the conference — the need to take up the defense of the New Haven 9 and other Panther political prisoners.

The gist of the Panther orientation toward the conference was the suggestion that students should leave the campus and enter some abstract type of armed struggle going on in the community. This artificial counterposing of the campus to the community under the rubric of the "gun" was not seriously contested by any of the students.

Yet the conference was being held at Yale University because, since May 1, the campus had been turned into an organizing center for defense of

the Panthers. This development was led by the Black students. Yale provided facilities (including two free full-course meals a day) that did not exist in the New Haven Black community.

The liberal administration of the campus was more receptive to Panther defense demands than the white-controlled reformist leadership of the Black community. Doug Miranda, head of the New Haven Panthers, even alluded to some of the problems with the community leadership during the conference. But in a sense, Yale for the first time became an extension of the Black community, a development made possible by the Black students and the campus explosion over the U. S. invasion of Cambodia.

In a discussion on Monday evening, most of the students who spoke related how they were trying to get their campuses to become relevant to the Black community. Some pointed to how money could be raised for the Panthers by making use of the honorariums offered to campus speakers. In this and in other discussions, the Panthers encouraged as many people to speak their minds as possible.

What the Panthers did not recognize is that the greater strength of the Black student movement, the more vigorous the defense of Black victims will be. For example, had there been any type of national coordination among Black student groups, the response to Augusta and Jackson would have been nationwide mass actions of Blacks in the streets, rather than the



murmur emitted. Millions of other students would have joined these protests.

Black studies and open admission programs are two paths that open up the campus to the Black community. To include Black studies as a target of attack on the "cultural" or pork-chop nationalists amounts to throwing out the baby with the water. Abdication of the campus would lead to a severe weakening of the revolutionary nationalist tendency. It is the dialectical interaction of campus and community that must be sought after, not the false dichotomy offered up by the Panthers. It is hoped that this problem will be resolved more positively at future student conferences.

New officers elected

MAYO nat'l convention in Texas

By MARIANNE HERNANDEZ
SWP candidate for U.S. Senate
from Texas

UVALDE, Texas — The board of directors of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) met here May 10 through May 13 to discuss past and future activities of MAYO and to elect new officers. Reflecting the growing influence of MAYO in other parts of the country the gathering decided to add the post of national president to the organization.

Carlos Guerra, an activist from Robstown, Texas, was elected national president, and Alberto Luera, who has worked with Mario Compean in the state office of MAYO was elected state president.

Outgoing president Mario Compean reviewed some of the activities of MAYO over the past year which included school walk-outs, the fight for community control of various

churches and independent Chicano electoral action. MAYO members have been the major builders of La Raza Unida Party which is presently running some 40 candidates in a four-county area in South Texas, and which swept the April elections in Crystal City, Carrizo Springs and Cotulla.

At the MAYO gathering, activities such as continuing the development of the independent Jacinto Trevino College (a Chicano college), draft counseling for Chicanos, and building the Chicano Moratorium planned for Houston on May 31 were discussed.

MAYO has seen the importance of building a movement against the war in Vietnam, which has claimed a disproportionate number of Chicano soldiers' lives. The Austin chapter of MAYO, for example, held the first Chicano Moratorium in Texas on May 3. On Friday, May 8, MAYO partici-

pated in the massive antiwar march on the state capital with its own banners. The 25,000 strong march was the largest ever seen in the history of Austin.

A surprise visitor to the MAYO meeting was the recently ordained Bishop Patricio Flores, the first Chicano bishop in the United States. Bishop Flores was attacked by right-wingers for having invited Cesar Chavez and Jose Angel Gutierrez to his ordination May 5.

The church hierarchy which ordained Flores as a token concession to the Chicano community may have second thoughts on their action. Within four days of his ordination in San Antonio, he appeared in Uvalde to express his concern for the striking Chicano students who have walked out of the schools. At the MAYO meeting, he urged the militant Chicano activists to speak their minds about the church.

Although MAYO members welcomed Bishop Flores' new attitude toward them, it is unlikely that their opinion of the church hierarchy will change. MAYO has "declared war" on the Catholic Church for its failure to respond to the needs of the Chicano community.

In response to a question put to him several days before, Jose Angel Gutierrez commented about the Catholic Church: "As long as it's a business and a corporation there is no hope for social justice. They'd go out and cut their own necks if they went in for social justice. Poor people can't build cathedrals and support the air conditioning in those guys' houses and their new cars. They'd have to go out and eat tamales and frioles and things, and I don't think the priests are ready for that even though they've made all kinds of vows."



Photo by Suzanne Camejo

From left to right: Alberto Luera, new Texas president of MAYO; Carlos Guerra, new national president; and Mario Compean, out-going president.

Andrew Stapp wins reversal on Army ruling

NEW YORK — An important victory was won May 14 in a test case involving the Army's right to victimize servicemen who have been active in antiwar and other activities by giving them less-than-honorable discharges.

Federal Judge Charles A. Tenney ordered the Army to change Andrew D. Stapp's April 19, 1968, "dishonorable discharge" to "honorable." Stapp is the head of the American Servicemen's Union.

Tenney ruled that "since Stapp is charged with associations and beliefs and is not charged with any military misconduct or matters affecting his military record the allegations fail to state a basis for issuance of a less-than-honorable discharge."

Tenney further ruled that "it is impermissible for the military to punish an admittedly competent soldier merely because it disapproves of the company he keeps."

Stapp was represented by Attorney Dorian Bowman, counsel for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

The victory in the Stapp case sets an important precedent for many other GIs who have been similarly victimized by the brass for their antiwar views.

Reply to Voice article on D.C. demo

Why marshals balked at entrapment plan

By FRED HALSTEAD

The May 14 issue of New York's Village Voice carried a front-page report of the May 9 Washington antiwar demonstration sponsored by the New Mobilization Committee. The article assailed the demonstration as "just another New Mobe picnic" and scored "Mobemmarshals who were better cops than the cops." The author was David Gelber, managing editor of the magazine Liberation, which Mobe leader Dave Dellinger edits. Gelber singled out for attack Fred Halstead and Brad Lytle, chief marshals of the demonstration. Lytle is a pacifist. Halstead was the 1968 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. The following response to Gelber's attack was rejected by the Voice for "lack of space."

* * *

In his article on the May 9 Washington New Mobe demonstration, David Gelber expresses bitterness that it didn't turn into another Chicago, 1968. Says Gelber: "What would have happened if Rennie Davis had successfully pressed the encirclement plan is hard to say, but my guess is that between 25,000 and 40,000 people would have responded, that they would have been able to hold their position for at least six hours and possibly more, that they would have ultimately been gassed but not before the declaration of something akin to martial law in Nixon's back yard, amounting not simply to a symbolic victory but to a further desanctification of Presidential authority . . . and Washington could have been a memory to rival Chicago, 1968."

Gelber attributes the lack of such an outcome to several factors including: "that Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party, whose reading of Trotsky lead him to conclude that mass demonstrations should be as bland as possible, and Brad Lytle of the War Tax Resistance, who was so overwhelmed by the prospect of things getting out of hand that he could think of little else, were in charge of training the marshals."

It is quite true that Brad and I did everything we could to prevent another Chicago or any other kind of bloody confrontation, and I'll do the same in the future.

The movement itself can never absolutely guarantee a peaceful demonstration because the warmakers in authority have the means to attack the demonstration violently when they decide to do so. The problem for the movement is to advertise, structure and prepare the demonstration in such a way as to make it as clear as possible that any violence which may occur is the responsibility of the authorities and not of the people who come to demonstrate.

In addition to the task of putting the onus for violence on the warmakers where it belongs, there is another responsibility of equal importance. There should be no entrapment games played with the masses who attend antiwar demonstrations. Gelber states that Rennie Davis had a plan—I remember it as a series of plans which changed from moment to moment—for a confrontation which would have led, at the least, to gassing by the authorities.

If Davis or anyone else wants to invite people in to such a situation, clearly stating what is involved and doing it in his own name, that is his business. I might advise against it, but it would not be my place to try to stop it. But I will not be a party to inviting people to what is presented as a peaceful demonstration while behind the backs of most of those coming an attempt is being made to structure in a confrontation in which many people would be involuntary participants.

The great majority of the people coming to Washington for the demonstration did not know of Davis' plans and probably wouldn't have come if such a plan had been the stated policy of the demonstration. This is not because the mass of the demonstrators are any less committed or brave than those who are bitter when things go peacefully and smoothly. It is because many people just don't believe such deliberately provoked confrontation between unarmed demonstrators and heavily armed police is politically productive.

The Washington May 9 affair was originally announced as a demonstration in front of the White House. We knew there was a law on the books requiring 15 days notice for demonstrations on park property, which includes Lafayette Square just north of the White House as well as most other open spaces in Washington. But we had a good case in that Nixon hadn't given us 15 days notice for his invasion of Cambodia. If the authorities had not given us a reasonable place to demonstrate, there is no doubt that large numbers would have come knowing what to expect, and the sympathy of the mass of the American people would have been with the demonstrators.

Under this pressure, however, Nixon had the 5 day rule lifted and offered the committee a site at the Washington Monument. The committee said, "No, that's not close enough," and demanded either Lafayette Square on the north, or the Ellipse on the south of the White House. If neither of these sites were granted, it was the plan to assemble north of Lafayette Square on H Street.

I was not pleased with this plan. By that time we were sure of a much larger crowd than first expected. I thought it would be very difficult to prevent a small group of provocateurs from creating a dangerous situation for the entire crowd jammed



Washington, D. C., May 9

Photo by Howard Petrick

into streets in that area. Any gassing could have started a rush in which people could be trampled. But that was the plan, and we started concrete work on it and on ways to evacuate those who did not want to stay should anything start.

Enough was then learned about the military plans of the authorities and about the timing involved in moving the crowd to give second thoughts to all of us responsible for the practical work. We learned that in the event of a rush by the crowd toward the downtown streets of the city, all exits north, east and west of the White House cordon would be blocked by forces waiting out of sight. Only one or two streets would be left open for escape, and only in one direction—south to the grassy areas around the monument. There was a distinct possibility that if the authorities didn't kill anyone the stampede would.

The possibility of such a built-in, bloody confrontation is typical of the kind of ultraleftism people like Davis and Dellinger have been trying to impose on the movement for several years.

We informed the committee and those who were training the marshals of what we knew about the military situation. The trainers told the marshals in the training sessions.

At this point the trainers got some very penetrating questions from the marshal volunteers. The trainers, unlike me, were mostly experienced practitioners of nonviolent civil disobedience from such groups as A Quaker Action. A delegation of them came to see me declaring the H Street plan downright immoral, and I didn't have to consult a volume of Trotsky to agree with them.

Friday afternoon the marshal staff was discussing what to do in this situation when we received the news that the Ellipse had been granted. You can well imagine our relief. We started making the marshal assignments according to the Ellipse plan.

But there were some on the New Mobe committee, particularly Davis and Dellinger, who immediately started trying to build a confrontation back into the demonstration. Such plans, which would have resulted in a bloody attack by the authorities, is typical of the kind of action people like Davis and Dellinger have been trying to impose on the movement for several years. They were still at it late Friday night when I left the meeting, and they seemed utterly impervious to my explanation that the marshal assignments were already

largely made and couldn't be changed at that late hour.

That's the way it is with generals without armies who sit in a room escalating their rhetoric. They can talk themselves into anything. But those who were charged with the safety of that huge crowd of movement people and who had had just one week to recruit, train and put on the street several thousand marshals with specific assignments were motivated by more practical considerations. And the marshals themselves had become convinced by political discussions during training sessions of the need for a massive, peaceful demonstration.

The rally was entirely peaceful. A lot of unscheduled speakers—most of them of the escalated rhetoric variety—were given the platform by the speakers committee, which by that time seemed to be making up its mind on the basis of who tapped them on the shoulders hardest. A group carrying coffins did lead off a separate march after the rally was over. No clear announcement was made of what might be involved. It was followed by a few thousand at first. The police never did stop it and the last I heard of it was when it passed the last ring of marshals we had stationed at pay telephones a half mile west of the White House. Somebody told me later it went all the way to Arlington Cemetery.

A small part of this march dropped off north of the White House and tried to push a coffin over the cordon of buses. Some sat down near there and were eventually gassed, but the crowd was small and escape was easy.

The purpose of these mass demonstrations is not to provide catharsis for frustrated "radicals" who have not yet learned that to stop this war, or to make any fundamental change, much less a revolution, you must involve immense masses. Nor is the purpose of such demonstrations to provide victims for additional examples of ruling-class violence. Their purpose is to provide a visible form in which dissent on the war can manifest itself; and to provide a form whereby new sections of the population can become involved.

Gelber declares the twilight of mass demonstrations. We've heard that ever since the first major antiwar rally in April 1965. But the mass demonstrations keep coming, wave on wave, and the most recent wave was the greatest of all. Washington May 9 was only one of hundreds throughout the country, thrown together in a week's time. In most places they were of unprecedented size. Minneapolis had 50,000

(Continued on page 14)

GIs SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE WAR

The Case of the Ft. Jackson 8

cloth \$4.50, paper \$1.75

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM

By Doug Jenness 35c

GIs AND THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR

By Mary-Alice Waters 25c

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL VS. NEGOTIATIONS

By Caroline Jenness 25c

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Background analysis

The Senate bloc against Nixon policies



Photo by John Gray

Senator Frank Church sees in such demonstrations "the spirit of revolution on campus," and hopes to still that spirit by putting on show of "representative government." Photo shows Los Angeles demonstration, May 9.

By DICK ROBERTS

MAY 23 — The amendment to the Senate Foreign Military Sales Act sponsored by Senator John Sherman Cooper (R—Ky.) and Frank Church (D—Idaho) may reach a Senate vote next week. This amendment is supposed to prohibit future U. S. military activities in Cambodia unless they have approval of Congress.

But the real meaning of this amendment, and the concern of a number of senatorial critics of the Nixon administration, lies beyond the U. S. invasion of Cambodia.

Above all else, these senators fear that the massive upsurge of antiwar sentiment since Kent, Cambodia, Augusta and Jackson throws doubt upon the institution of Democratic and Republican party politics itself.

The implicit direction of this mass antiwar movement, they fear, is towards a fundamental break with a system that gives voters nothing more

than a tweedledum-tweedledee choice between candidates, all of whom supported from the beginning and continue to support the war aims in Southeast Asia.

On May 15, Senator Church underlined this danger to his colleagues. "In 1964," recalled Church, "the main issue in the election between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Goldwater revolved about the issue of war. Mr. Johnson said again and again that Mr. Goldwater was trigger-happy. . . .

"Because of his campaign pledges, Mr. Johnson received an unprecedented landslide victory. Within a few weeks, however, he began to send American troops into Vietnam. . . .

"[In 1968] the American people had to choose a candidate. And who was chosen? The man who assured the country that he had a secret plan for ending the war. . . .

"So there is reason for frustration . . . millions of Americans have lost confidence in the institutions of the country, in the responsiveness of the government to the people's felt need, even to the people's opinion."

Nixon's senatorial critics also believe that too much power has been delegated to the executive branch of the government.

Senator Stuart Symington, for example, in a May 19 speech, stressed the fact that he did not know what was going on. "I have been a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee since the first day I came to the Congress, and for a decade have been a member of the Central Intelligence Agency Subcommittee, and for close to a decade of the Foreign Relations Committee. And I say to the Senate, without reservation, that I knew nothing about the attack on Cambodia until our troops were in that land." (*Congressional Record*, p. S 7388.)

The aim of these senatorial critics of Nixon is emphatically not to end the war in Southeast Asia and withdraw the massive forces of the U. S. occupational army. The Cooper-Church amendment, in fact, illustrates the limitations of these critics' approach.

Here is what the Cooper-Church amendment does not do, according to the editors of the *New York Times*, May 22:

"The measure does not interfere with the military operations now under way. Nor does it bar any important action in the future that the President himself has not already foreclosed. It does not prohibit limited arms aid to the Cambodian forces nor air interdiction of the Communist supply lines through Cambodia to South Vietnam.

"Nor — despite some congressional misgivings on this point — does it rule out future American air and logistical support to South Vietnamese units in Cambodia. . . ."

The following day, the *New York Times* reported that Washington is "prepared to continue air cover, if needed, for South Vietnamese forces that are considered almost certain to

remain in Cambodia after the American withdrawal deadline, July 1."

And this, to repeat, would not be outlawed by the Cooper-Church amendment. So that amendment does not attempt even to restore the Southeast Asian war situation to the status quo existing before Nixon's attack on Cambodia. It goes along with that attack, accepts Nixon's word on promised withdrawal of U. S. forces, and sanctions indefinite occupation of Cambodia by Saigon troops with U. S. air support.

On May 13, Church bemoaned the fact that, "The deep disillusionment of college students has its roots in Vietnam. When the power of the State is used to force young men to fight a war they believe to be wrongful," said Church, "under penalty of imprison-

ment if they refuse, the seeds of sedition are sown."

Such words, and there are plenty of them, are for public consumption. Church is most anxious to make young people believe he really is doing something about the war they so profoundly and justifiably despise. But the reality of what Church is after, was contained in the following remark he made in a colloquy with West Virginia Democrat Harry Byrd May 15:

"If we want to take the war protests off the streets," said Church, "if we want to stop the violence, if we want to still the spirit of revolution on campuses north, south, east, and west, the way to do it is to demonstrate that here in the halls of Congress representative government still lives." (*Congressional Record*, p. S 7253.)

Police harass Ohio YSAer

COLUMBUS, Ohio — Three police squads took Shirley Pasholk, Columbus YSA organizer into custody Sunday morning, May 17. She was posting leaflets advertising a speech by YSA national organization secretary Nelson Blackstock scheduled for the following day when three squad cars with two policemen in each converged on a corner where she was tacking a poster to a phone pole.

The Columbus police, who had been summoned to the scene by university police plainclothesman Albert Dailey, were uncertain what charge to make against Pasholk. Dailey appeared and pointed out the ordinance in the code book prohibiting "posting bills on electric poles." The charge carries a maximum penalty of a \$300 fine and 90 days in jail.

The police then placed Pasholk under arrest and took her to the station where she was held for six hours even though other YSAers arrived shortly afterward with the \$25 bond required to secure her release. The charge is due to come up in court on Monday, May 25, but the YSA's attorney, Edward Harter, is attempting to have that date moved ahead.

Pasholk is one of about 25 students

earlier named in an injunction brought by the school against Ohio State University strike leaders. The injunction also names several organizations, including the Student Mobilization Committee.

During the six hours she was held in jail, she was kept locked in her individual cell while other prisoners were allowed to walk freely about within the larger cell block.

The poles on which Pasholk was posting the leaflets are used by many other organizations on campus. In fact, the pole to which she was attaching a leaflet when arrested already had a leaflet on it advertising an ACLU meeting. The police who made the arrest were unaware that any law prohibited such posting until Dailey informed them of the pertinent ordinance.

The police confiscated from Pasholk all of the remaining leaflets, tore down the ones she had already posted and also confiscated 23 *Militants*, an Ohio SWP campaign button and a YSA button. These were not returned when she was released but held "as evidence" — although they bear no relation whatsoever to the charge of "posting bills on electric poles."

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SWP challenge of election law in Pennsylvania

By MARC BEDNER

HARRISBURG, Pa. — A three-judge federal court heard a complaint here May 15 charging that the Pennsylvania Loyalty Act is unconstitutional. Carol Lisker, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state representative, filed the complaint after the state rejected her nominating papers for her failure to sign a loyalty oath.

Lisker meets the age and residency requirements and her petitions contained more than the required number of valid signatures.

The complaint, which is being handled by the American Civil Liberties Union, argues that the loyalty act violates the rights of free speech and association guaranteed by the First and Fourth amendments of the U. S. Constitution as well as the right to vote for whomever one chooses.

Both the SWP and the Socialist Labor Party in Pennsylvania are presently awaiting a court decision on the constitutionality of another ballot restriction which states that no two parties may appear on the ballot if any word in their name is common to both. This restriction has prevented both the SWP and the SLP from getting on the ballot under their own names in the past.

The Pennsylvania Committee for a Fair Ballot has been formed to help win broad support for challenges to discriminatory and unconstitutional aspects of the state election laws. Sponsors already obtained include the Rev. Jesse Anderson of St. Thomas Episcopal Church, Dr. Robert Rutman of the University of Pennsylvania, and Mike Sletson of SANE. Anyone wishing to sponsor or contribute to the committee should write it at P.O. Box 444, Philadelphia, Pa. 19105.

New York labor demonstrations

Monolithic trade union support for war in Indochina is broken

By DAVID THORSTAD

The labor monolith has begun to crack. For the first time since American imperialist aggression in Indochina escalated into full-scale warfare more than five years ago, the solid front of support for the war and its aims by the institutions of organized labor is beginning to crumble. With very minor exceptions, the American trade unions have at best remained silent on U.S. aggression in Vietnam; at worst, they have echoed the jingoistic patriotism of AFL-CIO president George Meany.

Yet last week saw some dramatic developments in important sections of the labor movement. Under the impact of mounting casualties, the escalation into Cambodia and the ensuing student protest wave, the savage murders of young people in Kent, Augusta and Jackson, the steady climb in inflation and the decline in real wages, the differences within the labor movement widened perceptibly. Meany's claims to speak for organized labor were shattered.

In New York, a section of the trade union movement called the first antiwar demonstration by organized labor since the war began.

In San Francisco, 452 elected labor leaders signed their names to a full-page newspaper ad demanding immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the powerful 500,000 member Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, accused Meany of being "out of step" with the thinking of workers, in an editorial in the June-July issue of the union's newspaper. "No rational segment in the makeup of America puts the stamp of approval on our war involvements," it stated.

These major developments can be

452 West Coast union leaders ask withdrawal

Four hundred fifty two officers, executive board members and shop stewards of trade unions in the Bay Area of California placed a full-page ad in the May 18 *San Francisco Examiner* denouncing the Nixon administration and demanding the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia. Many of those who signed the ad had not previously spoken out publicly against the war. The open letter to Nixon reviewed the president's duplicity in his handling of the war issues and concluded:

"In the light of this record, all we can say is—we don't believe you!

"The economy of our country is steadily being eroded; your promises to stabilize the economy and control inflation have become meaningless. Our paychecks buy less for our families; our standard of living has been assaulted. We are suffering increased inflation and unemployment.

"Now Cambodia! What next?

"There must be an end to these military adventures.

"We want a cease-fire—Now!

"We want out of Cambodia—Now!

"We want out of Vietnam—Now!

"We've had it!

"Most important, this nation of ours must turn from war to peace. Any other course leads to disaster."

added to the adoption of the strong antiwar resolution at the recent national convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), as well as numerous statements by labor leaders condemning the war, as reported in recent issues of *The Militant*.

These developments represent a qualitative new departure in the fight against the war, and open up vast new opportunities and possibilities for the future.

The antiwar rally in New York on May 21 was called by more than a dozen trade unions as a labor-student protest against the war and repression. The noon, lunch-hour rally in City Hall Park, which drew up to 25,000 persons, was also held to repudiate the recent mob assaults on antiwar demonstrators by New York construction workers. It occurred the day after a pro-Nixon demonstration organized by the Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York had taken place at the same spot.

"I want you to know that there is a rising tide in labor that demands an end to this war right now," David Livingston, president of District 65 of the distributive workers, told the crowd.

Several of the speakers denounced the construction unions for the superficial sloganeering of the previous day's demonstration as well as for their arrogant claim to speak for the labor movement. Doris Turner, executive vice-president of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers Union, attacked "unions that have barred Blacks from their unions and now want to use their muscle against our youth."

Half of the participants were workers, which was probably a higher proportion than at any previous antiwar demonstration. Over 10 percent were Black. This, too, represented a significant jump.

The central political orientation of the labor figures was outlined at one point by rally chairman Victor Gotbaum, president of District 37 of AFSCME. The unions involved, he indicated, would use their influence to help elect liberal capitalist politicians in the fall. He announced that a labor-student coalition would continue lobbying.

After the rally broke up, 2,000-3,000 students marched uptown where, one block from Bryant Park, a couple of hundred police reneged on an agreement to let them use the park and, using mounted horses, brutally attacked the march. At least nine people were injured.

Sponsors for the rally included leaders of District 65, Drug and Hospital Workers Union Local 1199, District 37 of AFSCME, District 3 of the International Union of Electrical Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Fur and Leather Joint Board, Bakery and Confectionery, Jewelry, the UAW, the United Electrical Workers, and others.

The May 20 demonstration

While the May 21 antiwar demonstration represented a significant new departure for the labor movement, the previous day's pro-Nixon, anti-Lindsay demonstration represented the continuation of the official AFL-CIO line on the war.

The May 20 demonstration by con-

struction workers consisted of a rally followed by a march down Broadway to Battery Park.

Estimates on the size of the May 20 and 21 rallies vary widely, with the bourgeois press tending to inflate the figures for the building trades rally and to play down the size of the antiwar rally. On the other extreme, the *Daily World*, voice of the Communist Party, distorted both figures by claiming that the antiwar demonstration was from three to six times as large as the other.

The fact is that both were big. But an honest and certainly more accurate estimate would be that some 50,000 participated in the pro-Nixon demonstration and half that many were brought out for the antiwar rally.

This, of course, raises some obvious questions. In a period of growing radicalization, why did such a large number of workers turn out in this kind of rightwing action? What are the building trades unions, and why did they organize such a demonstration?

To start with, the rally by construction workers was a strange kind of "prowar" rally. The main speaker, Peter Brennan, president of the Building Trades Council, received a warm ovation when he shouted, "We are all against the war and we want to see it ended. We want the boys home." The war in Vietnam is so unpopular that

today even a right-wing rally is reluctant to come out for it.

The rally was organized as a display of "love" for the USA, the Nixon administration, and especially the American flag. Advertisements exhorted participants to "just bring your love for the only flag we have!" The flags were provided by the unions. Throughout, they were waved in accompaniment to mindless chants of "USA—All the Way!"

The rally followed recent rampages by groups of construction workers through New York's financial district. On May 8, some 500 marched into a student antiwar demonstration and beat up the students while the police watched. Although 70 were injured, no arrests were made. Moreover, these hooligans lost no pay for the time they took off from work to engage in this activity.

One of the men who appeared to be leading them and who addressed them through a bullhorn on this occasion has been identified as Ralph Clifford, publisher of a small, ultraright newspaper. The bourgeois press did its best to portray these thugs as typical workers fed up with student protests.

The construction workers were prominently featured in the news across the country last fall. At that time, Blacks conducted demonstrations at job sites in about a dozen cities demanding increased Black employment in the notoriously lily-white building trades. The most dramatic of these actions occurred in August and September in Pittsburgh and Chicago.

They called attention to the racist practices of the building trades, which are nothing but high-paying job trusts for those who have enough pull to get in. The actions also brought about some initial steps to change the most blatant practices.

These steps have been both inadequate and deceptive (even those Blacks who were given on-the-job training are not guaranteed advancement to journeymen, for instance). Yet they were sufficient to strike fear into white construction workers who see their job security threatened.

That such steps are being undertaken in New York by the Lindsay administration goes a long way toward explaining the May 20 demonstration and its decidedly anti-Lindsay character.

The building trades are a job trust in which all decisions, including who is let into the unions, are made by joint agreement between the employers and the union officials. "It's not just Blacks either," one supporter of the May 20 demonstration told me. "You've got to have a father." He said he had tried to get into the carpenters' union, but had been unable to for lack of the right connections.

The jobs pay exceptionally well. Construction workers are one of the few sections of the labor force that has not seen its real wages eaten into by the war-induced inflation. Given the current boom in large construction in New York, the typical building trades unionist grosses about \$12,000 annually. By comparison, the average New York factory worker grosses approximately \$6,500 a year.

Two further factors help explain the size of this demonstration. First, the right wing mobilized for it. This included small ultraright groups like the John Birch Society as well as the more sizable Conservative Party.

Second, unlike the organizers of the antiwar action, the construction unions

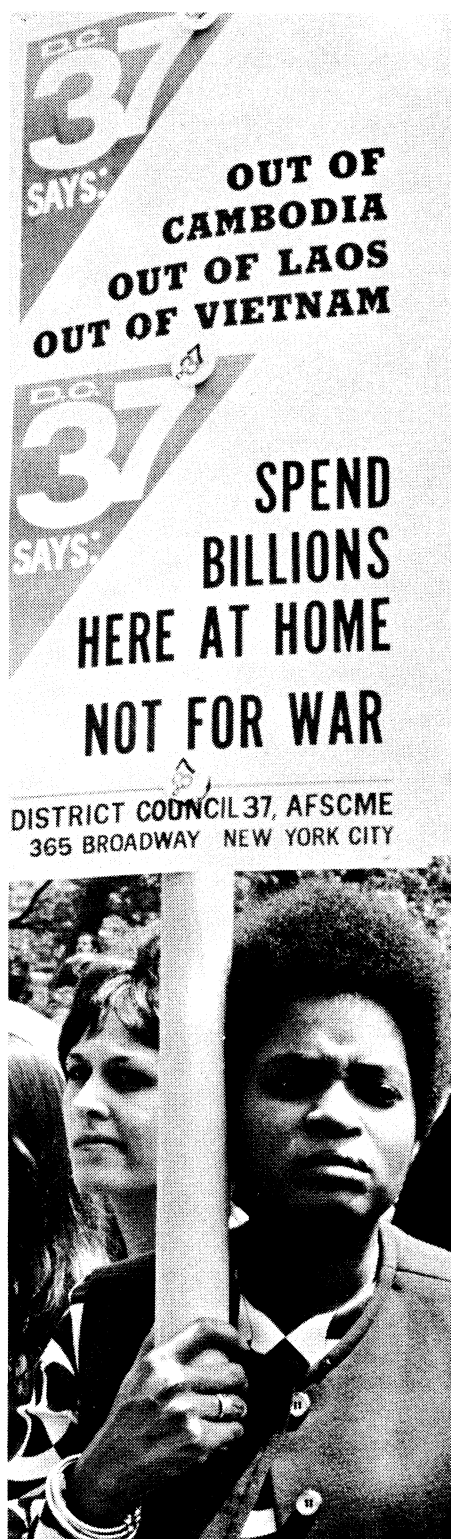


Photo by Howard Petrick

New York City, May 21



New York City, May 21

Photo by Howard Petrick

made a serious effort to pull as many men as possible off the job and get them there. Job security, a full day's pay and other inducements were freely used.

The scattering of Black construction workers looked out of place as they marched past with Black nationalist decals on their helmets. Several marching with glass handlers Local 206 told the *New York Post* that if they did not sign in at the rally they would not be paid for a full day's work. "I signed in," said William Roberts at the assembly point, "but I'm not part of the protest, that's for sure. The only place I'm marching is home."

While the "prowar," pro-Nixon demonstration was certainly significant in its size and political orientation, it simply expressed what has long been the policy of the AFL-CIO.

The antiwar labor-called demonstration is what was new, marking, as it does, a sharp break from AFL-CIO policy.

Still, it was not without certain drawbacks. The official sponsor of the event was a "Labor-Student Coalition for Peace." While the labor half of this coalition amounts to an impressive list—for a start—those unions did not go all out to build the demonstration in their own ranks or attempt to pull people off jobs to participate.

And the student side of the coalition was far from representative of the massive antiwar movement on the campuses in the New York area. Of the dozen or so apparently handpicked student representatives, none appeared to officially represent strike committees or student antiwar organizations. The Student Mobilization Committee, which is undeniably the strongest student antiwar group, was not represented although the SMC threw itself into building the rally.

Ed Strickland, a graduate student at New York University, was the student coordinator for the demonstration. However, when *The Militant* called him to obtain information to publicize the action, he refused to talk and promptly hung up. A strange way indeed to go about building a mass rally!

It might be said in Strickland's defense that other newspapers apparently had less difficulty getting through to him, if the frequency with which he is

mentioned in *Daily World* articles on the event is any indication.

Despite the unrepresentative composition of the student side of the coalition apparatus, the demonstration was built on the campuses, though not nearly as effectively as it otherwise might have been.

Regardless of its weaknesses, however, the May 21 labor-student demonstration represents an historic step. It is a sign of the trend which the antiwar movement must do everything possible to accelerate.

When the next new upsurge of the antiwar struggle comes, organized labor may well be involved from the start.

Black labor leader blasts building trades

By RANDY FURST

NEW YORK—For tens of thousands of marching, flag-waving white construction workers, Public Enemy No. 1 was no less than Mayor John V. Lindsay, a typical capitalist politician to most, but a "Red Mayor" to some of the hardhats marching in the streets. Lindsay is no accidental target. Not only has the liberal Republican mayor attempted to absorb sectors of the antiwar movement, but he has drawn fire from the right for his public, if hesitant, stand against the virtually all-white construction unions.

The president of the New York branch of the National Afro-American Labor Council, Leo Rabouine, cites the racism of the construction unions' hiring stance as central to the "Get Lindsay" movement which collected steam as nationwide demonstrations for withdrawal from Southeast Asia also mounted.

"The main reason for the attack on Lindsay at this stage," asserts Rabouine, "is the fact that the Lindsay administration just recently refused to pay money to elevator construction companies who are doing work under contract for the city." Rabouine says that Lindsay was "merely trying to see that Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act was implemented and that these construction firms doing business with the city, paid by city funds, start to bring in Blacks in large numbers."

"The construction trades are now trying to blackmail Mayor Lindsay into backing off from enforcing Title 7," he adds.

Despite their miniscule membership—Rabouine estimates Blacks number no more than one-half of one percent of the membership of New York construction unions—Black construction workers were on the march that wound through downtown Manhattan earlier this week.

The reason? "Some of the Black construction workers," notes Rabouine,

"said that they were told that if they didn't take part in this demonstration it would cost them their job."

"I would say that the overwhelming majority of Black workers in the United States are against the war in Vietnam," he points out.

He said that he was at variance with AFL-CIO president George Meany, arch supporter of President Nixon's war policies. "I disagree with Meany," says Rabouine, "and I'm quite certain that millions of American workers also disagree with him on the war."

Rabouine laid out his views in an interview with *The Militant* May 23. Earlier in the week at a televised press conference, he had blasted the right-wing demonstrators' attacks on peace protesters. "We consider these actions not only as blows against free speech, but also as deeds of a racist union which has now turned to violence against students and Blacks," he said. "Unfortunately many highly paid sections of the trade union movement are conservative. They are the bulwark of the support of Nixon and the warhawks for the continuing war in Vietnam and now its expansion into Cambodia and Laos."

Rabouine traces some of the current white reactionary activity to Peter Brennan, president of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York.

"Brennan made a statement as long ago as 1963," recalls Rabouine, "in which he said the construction trades would not be blackmailed by the civil rights movement into admitting Blacks. And he referred to the fact that construction workers were not sissies and were able to take care of themselves. As long ago as 1963 he set the stage for construction workers to go on a rampage."

Two New York studies issued in 1963 and another covering the 1963-67 period added fuel to the charges of racism in the unions. Rabouine also mentions a report published several years ago by the Housing and Urban Development Commission that calls on the federal government to take steps to correct the bias.

"Of course this report was ignored," says Rabouine. "But it is still a matter of public record."

The record is one of racism and reaction. "It was Black people who built this country," points out Rabouine. "Black people were engaged in all aspects of the building craft up until about 100 years ago. But within the last 100 years, the Black man has been systematically eliminated from the building trades."

The city's right-wing demonstrators offer one solution: Black workers stay out. Mayor Lindsay offers a second alternative: He named a panel April 11 to study minority hiring in the construction trades. The task force is composed of representatives from groups ranging from the NAACP to a corporation president. In Rabouine's opinion, the task force is not satisfactory.

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Post-Cambodia upsurge brought historic changes

The impact on capitalists, unions and student forces

By JACK BARNES

SWP Nat'l Organization Secretary

The American events of May 1970 did not lead, as the French events of May 1968 did, to a general strike of the working class. Nevertheless the American events marked a new high point in antiwar consciousness and action by important sectors of the American people and may prove to have opened the door to the most decisive struggles yet waged against American imperialism's war in Southeast Asia.

Three events occurred in May that either were unique in the history of the antiwar movement or represented turning points both in the struggle against the war and the deepening radicalization in the United States:

- American students conducted the biggest student strike in the history of the world.

- Sections of the capitalist class split

AFL-CIO leader Jacob Potofsky denounces war

MAY 25—Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the 417,000 member Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, broke with the leadership of the AFL-CIO today, condemning the war in Indochina and the Nixon administration. Potofsky's position was outlined in an address to the union's convention, which opened today in Atlantic City. It has added significance in that Potofsky is one of the first members of the AFL-CIO 35 man Executive Council to publicly break with its prowar stance.

"Our members, like all working people and like the majority of all Americans, want peace," he stated in his keynote address to the convention. "And they want peace now, without delay, without further military adventures, without more killing."

Right-wing hooligans attack Arab spokesmen in N.Y.

By ROBERT LANGSTON

NEW YORK—A half-dozen thugs wielding lead-weighted clubs smashed their way into the offices of the Palestine Liberation Organization here May 22 and severely beat the PLO representative, Sadaat Hasan. Fifteen minutes earlier, they had attacked the offices of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations, a group that supports the Palestinian struggle. There, they worked over the Action Committee's secretary general, M. T. Mehdi, and his aide, Ghazi Khankan. The goons wrecked both offices.

Mehdi and Khankan were treated for cuts and bruises; Hasan was hospitalized for treatment of two deep gashes in the head.

The toughs left behind in the ruins of the offices pieces of mimeographed paper which said in English and Hebrew: "An eye for an eye—The Bible. For murdered Jewish children. . . . Never Again."

The attacks came the day after four bazooka shells ripped into an Israeli school bus traveling a few hundred yards south of the Lebanese border. Twelve people, eight of them children, have died; 20 more were wounded.

A small Palestinian guerrilla group,

publicly not only over the war but over its effects on their ability to rule the United States.

- The first large layer of AFL-CIO unions and unionists publicly repudiated the line of support to the war that George Meany and his cohorts have developed in the name of organized labor for half a decade.

The student strike

The strike that swept the nation's campuses in May revealed that the American students have a political potential and weight that they themselves had never suspected.

On a national scale, in educational institutions of every type and level, the strike demonstrated without question that the deeply felt hatred for the American imperialist war in Southeast Asia and the willingness to oppose it have passed far beyond a radical vanguard of the students. Virtually an entire generation is involved.

The May actions against the war were not limited to the campus organizations previously engaged in protest. A number of all-Black universities and colleges organized against the war—even before the Augusta and Jackson murders; at some all-women's schools newly formed women's liberation committees sparked the actions; high school and junior high students had large-scale strike actions with widespread participation by Third World youth. Official student governments and faculty bodies joined in.

This massive response to the invasion of Cambodia and the murder of the Kent students marks a new stage in the American student movement.

For the first time, the students, on a broad scale, took a step beyond mass protest to winning control of some of the wide range of facilities of the American universities. These "antiwar universities" were used as a base from which to organize their actions and propaganda against the war and campus complicity with the war machine, and to reach out to other key sectors of the population—the GIs,

the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (General Command), which split from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in 1968, is reported to have accepted responsibility for the attack on the bus.

El Fateh, the largest of the guerrilla organizations, criticized the action and reaffirmed its policy of avoiding attacks on civilian targets.

At the moment the goons descended on the PLO offices here, Hasan was preparing a statement on behalf of the PLO expressing regret for the deaths of the children but pointing out that Palestinian and other Arab children are the daily targets of systematic Israeli terror, worked with napalm and Phantom aircraft.

The goon squads involved in the incidents here were apparently units of the racist, extreme right-wing, paramilitary Jewish Defense League. Shortly after the attacks, the JDL's fuhrer, Rabbi Meir Kahane, said in a television interview that while, for obvious reasons, he would not affirm that the JDL was responsible for the attacks, he would certainly not deny it. He "predicted" escalation of this sort of activity as long as the "Arabs are killing Jews."

the Third World communities, the labor movement—to involve them in the struggle to get the troops out of Southeast Asia.

On the campuses, as a result of these events, there is a new consciousness of what it is possible to accomplish. There has also been a favorable shift in the relationship of forces between the antiwar students and sympathetic faculty on one side, and the direct agents of capitalism—the administrators, trustees and regents—on the other.

Under the impact of these events, the coming months will see continuing campus struggle—with a greater chance of success than ever. Struggles will be waged to eliminate restrictive rules regulating the social, political and personal lives of the students and against every aspect of campus complicity with the war machine.

Attempts to turn the large and varied resources and the apparatus of the universities away from the projects and priorities of the ruling class, trustees and administrators will increase. The orientation will be to turn the university resources toward the projects and priorities of the students in the struggle against the war, against repression and oppression of Third World people and women, against exploitation of resources and pollution of the environment by unfettered big business.

With the May events under their belts the students will more frequently and in greater numbers, use their newly won positions of strength on the campuses to link up with and organize support for the struggles of the working class, the oppressed nationalities and women. More and more often, campus facilities will be opened to embattled forces off the campuses and experiences will be exchanged.

The degree of control over university resources and facilities will vary from campus to campus. But the basic strategic concept—winning and then using the vast resources of the American universities as a powerful base from which to link up with the coming mighty social struggles against American capitalism—has been given a trial run, its validity and the experience will not be forgotten. Another valuable addition to the capital of the entire movement has been the appearance on many campuses of broad strike councils. They implemented the tasks decided on in mass campus meetings, and represented the forces of the upsurge in a way no single organization could. This form will undoubtedly be refined, improved and used on a broader scale at the next stage of the struggle. This kind of democratic leadership committee which can unite forces in a large struggle and be viewed as the legitimate authority of a mass upsurge is an important example for GIs, Third World communities and the labor movement.

The May events open a new chapter for the growth of the Young Socialist Alliance in numbers, geographical extension and political experience and influence. The need for and the role of a nationwide revolutionary socialist youth organization with a political program and strategy that links campus rebellion to the key political fight against American capitalism can be understood today by thousands of radical students who were not sure of this a month ago.

The ruling class

The May events detonated an open rift in the ruling class all the way up

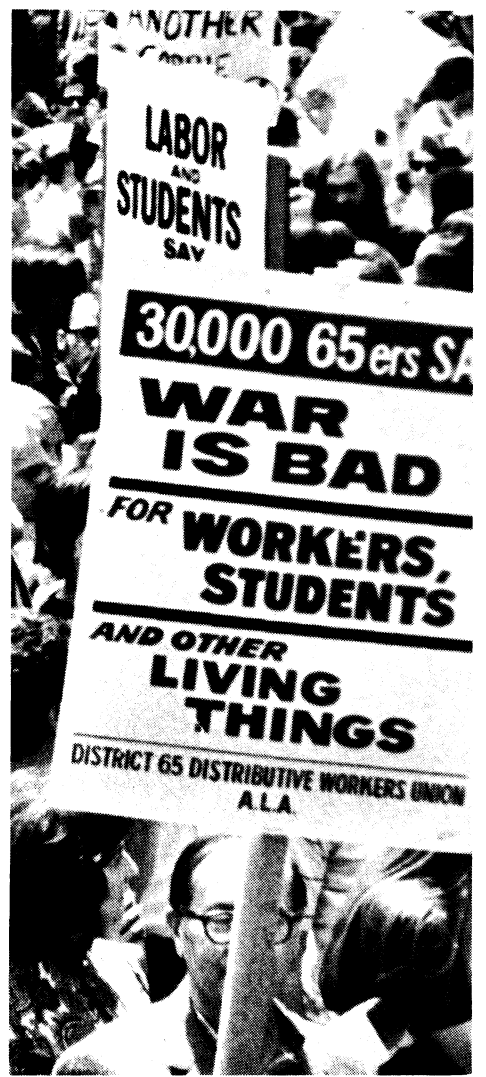


Photo by Howard Petrick

New York, May 21

to the Nixon cabinet and precipitated a deep sense of crisis publicly expressed by a wide spectrum of spokesmen for the ruling class.

The difference in attitude from the time of the march on Washington in November 1969 is illustrated by the shift in even Nixon's public posture. In November he said protests could have no effect on his policy, and demonstratively let it be known that he was watching a football game on TV during the demonstration.

In May he conceded an area for the demonstrators near the White House where he "could hear the protest," told the nation he couldn't sleep a wink all night before the demonstration, and went out at dawn to "discuss" with some of the demonstrators.

What stunned even members of Nixon's own cabinet and drove them to public expressions of dismay was neither the Cambodian invasion nor the Kent massacre. It was the mass eruption of outraged protest against them, which they feared would completely discredit and permanently isolate the Nixon administration.

Similarly, spokesmen for the ruling class outside the Nixon administration expressed alarm not because of basic disagreement over imperialist foreign policy, but because the May events convinced them of the real possibility that social upheavals generated by the expansion of the war threaten the future of American capitalism.

Former Chief Justice Earl Warren gave the following estimate in a speech on May 15:

"We are, indeed, in a crisis. We have . . . a divisiveness in our society to a



San Di

degree of intensity that has not been equaled in the past hundred years."

The day before, John W. Gardner, a Republican and former cabinet member of the Johnson administration, released to the national press a speech in which he said:

"And while each of us pursues his selfish interest and comforts himself by blaming others, the nation disintegrates. I use the phrase soberly: The nation disintegrates."

In the "extraordinary reaction" to Nixon's Cambodian invasion, Gardner saw evidence that a "crisis of confidence in our leadership" has been growing. "The seeming abrupt reversal of implied commitments deepened the question in the minds of millions of Americans as to whether they can believe the promises of their leaders."

James Reston, of the *New York Times*, writing from Washington two days later, saw Nixon "in deep trouble" because, like Johnson, "he is increasingly up against the dilemma of getting out of Vietnam quicker than he planned or not being able to govern the country. . . . His advisers recognize the changed mood in the capital. They thought, when they came to power, that they were dealing with a foreign war, and they now see that they are dealing with a rebellion against that war, and maybe even with a revolution at home."

Another top figure of the Johnson administration, McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, warned on May 15: "Not only must there be no new incursion of Americans across the Cambodian border, but nothing that feels like that to the American public must happen again. . . . Any major action of this general sort, if undertaken in the same fashion as the Cambodian decision—now that the domestic effects of that decision are visible—would tear the country and the administration to pieces. At the very least the Congress would stop money for the war, and the chances of general domestic upheaval would be real."

Thus, while attempting to maintain the image of unity behind the myth that his "Vietnamization" policy was ending the war, Nixon has actually opened a credibility gap deeper than the Johnson administration ever faced. He has set into motion a greater public outpouring of opposition within his own class than that which forced his predecessor from office. This open rift in the ruling class, itself a consequence of the May events, creates the conditions for further and broader expressions of mass opposition to the war.

The labor movement

No powerful organization outside the government has supported the White House-Pentagon policies on the war throughout its entire escalation more fervently than the AFL-CIO bureaucracy headed by George Meany. This has effectively blocked the strongest social force in the country, the organized working class, from participating in the growing antiwar movement. But the May events opened a public fissure in this seeming monolith.

The example of the students and the

pressure from workers whose growing disenchantment with the war and its effects had found no expression in the top union bureaucracy combined in May to explode the claim that Meany's prowar line represents the sentiments of a majority, let alone all, of American labor.

Three major developments highlight the breakup of this logjam:

Under the impact of the Kent killings and telegrams from locals around the country, on May 7 the national convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) overwhelmingly passed a resolution demanding withdrawal of all American troops from Southeast Asia. AFSCME is the eighth largest union in the AFL-CIO and represents 490,000 workers.

In New York an important section of the union movement, including locals affiliated to the AFL-CIO, the Alliance for Labor Action and independent unions, for the first time called a street demonstration against the war. Some 25,000 New Yorkers were mo-

bilized on May 21 in a common labor-student effort. The sponsors included New York unions with large Black and Puerto Rican memberships. The rally drew a larger percentage of Black and Puerto Rican participants than any previous antiwar action.

On May 18, 452 Bay Area elected union officials and shop stewards placed a full-page ad in the *San Francisco Examiner* differentiating themselves from Nixon's policies, asserting their disbelief and distrust in anything the government says about the war, and demanding that U.S. troops be brought home from Vietnam and Cambodia now.

These open breaks in the labor bureaucracies make it possible for opponents of the war inside the unions to effectively argue their view and mobilize the sentiment against the war that already exists among millions of American workers. They can realistically begin to translate that opposition into effective antiwar action.

The antiwar movement outside the unions now has a totally new oppor-

tunity to use the resolutions, endorsements, actions and official statements of sections of the labor movement to solicit support, aid and participation in antiwar actions from other sections.

Now that the ice has been broken, a new problem for the capitalist rulers can materialize in the near future: When the next major actions of the antiwar struggle begin—that is, when the May events find their logical continuation—big sections of organized labor could be involved from the beginning. Both a qualitative change in the composition and character of street actions and the beginning of job actions against the war, loom as real possibilities.

Unlike France's May events of two years ago a revolutionary situation did not develop in May 1970 in the United States. But a preview could be seen of the forces that, if combined in mass political action against the policies of the American government, could shake capitalism to its foundations.

Ariz. regents flout ASU profs

By LAUREL NICKEL

PHOENIX, Ariz., May 23—The Arizona State Board of Regents is trying to set the stage for firing socialist professor Morris J. Starsky.

At its regular meeting today, the board voted to delay until June 10 ruling on a report issued by the Faculty Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure.

Last week the faculty committee cleared Prof. Starsky on five charges brought against him by the university administration.

The delay is being seen here as an attempt by the regents to buy time until the students are gone for the summer and the faculty have accepted their contracts for next year.

Prof. Starsky has been under attack by reactionary forces in the legislature for several years. Last January he canceled a class to address an antiracism, anti-repression rally in Tucson. Pressure from several legislators began mouthing for Starsky's immediate dismissal. One of these legislators frankly admitted that he wanted Starsky fired because of his Marxist-Leninist views.

The regents, somewhat taken aback by the vigorous political defense campaign mounted in Starsky's behalf, passed the buck to the university and ordered an investigation of Prof. Starsky's conduct.

Under the faculty constitution and by-laws the president of the Faculty Assembly selected an ad hoc committee—which decided there were no grounds for dismissing Prof. Starsky.

The regents overruled the ad hoc committee and instructed the president of the university to order a full dismissal hearing.

The hearing was conducted by the faculty-elected Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure. The five members of this committee are full professors of political science, history, economics, law and engineering.

The hearing was conducted fairly and impartially. This was largely due to the effectiveness of two defense committees in mobilizing support for Prof. Starsky on the campus and around the country. The Student Academic Freedom Committee, headed by political science graduate student Kathy Browner, informed the students of the political nature of the charges against Prof. Starsky and collected nearly 4,000 signatures on petitions in his behalf.

The Faculty-Community Committee to Defend Academic Freedom at ASU, headed by Thomas F. Holt, chairman of the sociology department, received over 300 signed statements of support for Prof. Starsky from the ASU faculty.

This is nearly half the faculty.

In addition, the committee received several hundred signed statements from prominent academicians throughout the country and collected over \$2,000 for the legal defense.

The dismissal hearing dragged on for several weeks and filled over 1,100 pages of transcript, in spite of the fact that the administration's case was exploded in the first few days of testimony.

After several weeks of deliberation, the Faculty Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure unanimously recommended that Prof. Starsky not be dismissed. It is this report the regents voted not to rule on at this time.


Plans are now being made by student and faculty groups to counter the delaying tactic of the regents. The

issue is no longer that of the regents against Prof. Starsky. Now that a highly regarded independent faculty committee has cleared Prof. Starsky, the issue is whether the students and faculty are going to permit a small political group from outside the university to overrule them on matters of academic freedom that deeply effect their lives. Given the radicalization that has taken place here in recent months, an adverse ruling by the regents could precipitate rather large mass actions.

Letters of protest should be written to Pres. Harry K. Newburn, Arizona State University, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Defense funds are urgently needed and should be sent to Prof. Marcus Whiffen, College of Architecture, Arizona State University, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

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May 9 Photo by Harry Meyer

Students, unions support fight

Gains made by L.A. Teamsters

By GORDON BAILEY
LOS ANGELES, May 23 — Aided by students and backed by other unionists, striking teamsters here drove a major wedge in the united front of employers who had banded together in an effort to housebreak their union by weeding out militant rank-and-filers. The break came May 20 when over-the-road operators yielded to the union demands ensuring amnesty for striking workers. Remaining hold-out intrastate employers are now substantially weakened in their antiunion effort.

With a court injunction limiting them to two pickets at each gate of the struck terminals, the unionists turned toward student activists to organize mass picketing against the scabs and several sizable student actions were carried through.

While the striking members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters did not have the support of the officials of their international union, solidarity actions by fellow unionists in San Francisco and elsewhere in California were a major factor in the present victory.

The walkout began April 3 when some 10,000 area teamsters voted to strike rather than accept the inadequate national agreement negotiated by IBT acting President Frank Fitzsimmons.

A principal local demand was for ten days of paid sick leave, a proviso not included in the national pact.

The strikers found powerful forces arrayed against them. The interna-

tional union officialdom exerted every pressure to end the walkout. With such leverage, the employers, organized into the California Truckers Association, decided on a move to rid the industry of militants and rebels, whom they refer to as "rock-throwers." They immediately sent dismissal notices to the 10,000 strikers and began replacing them with scabs.

The bosses' main fire was directed at Local 208, a local of over-the-road drivers with a long history of militancy and independence from the international Teamsters bureaucracy. The aim was to break the strike and then by "selective" rehiring weed out several hundred militant unionists in the "rock-thrower" category.

But the effort misfired. In addition to the students, unionists throughout the state, particularly fellow teamsters, responded with a swift display of militant, effective solidarity. Significant shutdowns hit San Francisco and other areas for two days in support of the Los Angeles strikers.

With union picketing limited by injunction, some individual strikers sought out students, who would not be liable under the injunction, to maintain the picket line at several key freight terminals.

At Western Carloading, a major over-the-road operator, several hundred student pickets forced a convoy of scab trucks away from the main entrance. The scabs were able to gain access to company property only through use of a side gate nearly a mile away. Student militancy had a salutary effect on strikers who began to look on the campus activists in a new light.

Important support for the strikers came last week when pickets were dispatched to the docks and other key areas of San Francisco, a very strong union town. Truck drivers there refused to pass the pickets and for two days the docks were virtually paralyzed.

Similarly, the two major dailies were undelivered as drivers there respected Teamsters picket lines. Members of the taxi drivers local stopped op-

erating and Greyhound bus service came to a halt.

Pickets were posted at freeway exits and union drivers coming into the area simply pulled over to the side and left their trucks. The jam-up was considerable.

Under this pressure to settle and unable in the face of such solidarity to assure their customers delivery outside Los Angeles, the over-the-road operators cracked.

The May 20 agreement reportedly provides three basic concessions by the operators: 1) Strikers will be rehired with full seniority restored; 2) Pending civil suits against union activists will be dropped; 3) The plan to weed out militants through selective rehiring will be dropped.

About a hundred local operators are holding out but are estimated to be functioning at about 50 percent of normal, making prolonged resistance difficult.

While the workers were not able to force an amendment to the national pact, they have by their own militancy, buttressed by the solidarity of fellow unionists and students, delivered a solid blow against the union-busting plans of the bosses.



Photo by John Gray

L.A. teamster leader backs May 30 action

LOS ANGELES — John T. Williams, vice-president and business agent of Local 208, principal recent target of union-busting trucking employers, has joined the planning committee for the May 30 antiwar demonstration here and will be a speaker at the demonstration.

7,444 new Militant subs

By FLAX HERMES
Militant business manager

MAY 23 — Because our last few issues have been devoted almost entirely to coverage of the antiwar and student upsurge, the final scoreboard for *The Militant's* spring subscription drive has been delayed several weeks. But we can now report that *The Militant* gained 7,444 new readers this spring — a considerable increase in our total number of subscribers and a significant step forward from last fall's sub drive that netted 6,000 new readers.

We didn't complete the subscription drive on time, however. At the May 1 deadline we were still about 1,200 short of our goal of 7,500 new readers.

The remaining subs which brought

us within a hairsbreadth of our goal were sent in after the deadline. We also received a considerable number of subscriptions resulting from the sales of the special antiwar issues.


In the last couple of months there has been a noticeable increase in the number of subscription coupons clipped out of the paper and sent in to us. It's encouraging to see how easily subscriptions sell themselves!

But the success of the subscription drive was due to consistent hard work by hundreds of *Militant* supporters around the country. Twenty-five areas filled their quotas and several went way over the top.

The results of this subscription drive indicate that we will be able to launch an even bigger and better one in the fall.

Black Voices From Prison

by Etheridge Knight



In self description, Etheridge Knight has written: "I died in Korea from a shrapnel wound and narcotics resurrected me. I died in 1960 from a prison sentence and poetry brought me back to life."

Stories, articles, and poems written by Knight plus a number of pieces (including a play) by fellow inmates whom he encouraged to write. The subjects include prison life, the position of blacks in American society, their future, autobiographies, and case histories. The volume is revelatory of life behind bars and the black experience — so much of which in the U.S. has been a prison experience.

192 pp., cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.45

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City	Quota	News subs			
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Portsmouth, N.H.	15	30	El Paso, Texas	35	29
Yellow Springs, Ohio	40	66	Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	40
Paterson, N.J.	30	48	San Francisco, Calif.	475	378
Tacoma, Wash.	40	58	Houston, Texas	100	77
Albany, N.Y.	25	35	Hamilton & Clinton, N.Y.	35	26
Twin Cities, Minn.	250	308	San Diego, Calif.	100	74
Boston, Mass.	350	431	Gainesville, Fla.	50	36
Bloomington, Ind.	50	61	Oxford, Ohio	25	18
Phoenix, Ariz.	55	65	Kansas City, Mo.	60	41
La Crosse, Wis.	15	17	Oberlin, Ohio	25	17
DeKalb, Ill.	100	111	Long Island, N.Y.	65	41
Austin, Texas	150	165	Oshkosh, Wis.	35	22
New Haven, Conn.	10	11	Hayward, Calif.	75	45
Logan, Utah	25	29	Newark, N.J.	75	44
Ypsilanti, Mich.	25	27	Columbus, Ohio	60	31
New York, N.Y.	1100	1165	Milwaukee, Wis.	40	20
Ft. Wayne, Ind.	35	37	Hoboken, N.J.	30	14
Los Angeles, Calif.	500	527	Portland, Ore.	30	14
Chicago, Ill.	500	525	Eastern Washington State	50	22
Seattle, Wash.	200	209	Knoxville, Tenn.	20	8
Atlanta, Ga.	225	230	Binghamton, N.Y.	120	46
Cleveland, Ohio	350	353	Boulder-Denver, Colo.	120	40
Red Hook, N.Y.	15	15	Champaign, Ill.	25	7
Washington, D.C.	125	125	San Joaquin Valley, Calif.	25	6
Worcester, Mass.	50	50	Mansfield, Pa.	40	7
Detroit, Mich.	350	346	Athens, Ohio	25	3
Providence, R.I.	80	79	Chapel Hill, N.C.	25	2
Madison, Wis.	200	189	Flint, Mich.	15	1
Berkeley, Calif.	375	351	Brookings, S. Dak.	-	28
St. Louis, Mo.	30	27	General	-	251
Johnson City, Tenn.	25	22			
Philadelphia, Pa.	325	280			
			TOTAL	7570	7444

Anger over killings mounts in Jackson

By RANDY FURST

Phillip Gibbs, 21, and James Green, 17, were buried last week — Gibbs at a family funeral in Ripley, Miss., and Green at a funeral in Jackson attended by 4,000.

In the aftermath of the murders at Jackson State College May 14 when police raked Alexander Hall with gunfire, killing the two unarmed Black youths and wounding as many as 14 others (see *The Militant*, May 26), investigations have begun, and the Black community of Jackson has begun to mobilize.

Police officials maintain they were responding to sniper fire. Students say there was no sniper fire, only a bottle thrown from the window of the women's dormitory which crashed harmlessly to the pavement.

State highway patrolmen and city police opened fire without warning on the hall and at students running for cover on the opposite side of the street.

A boycott of city white businesses to protest the slayings continued into its second week. Reached in Jackson by telephone, Jackson State College student body president Warner Buxton termed the boycott 90 percent successful.

In the early morning hours of May 23, Buxton and Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, Miss., met with Jorris Leonard, assistant attorney general investigating the killings. Black students who had camped out in front of the dorm agreed to turn over the dorm's front panels, a mosaic of bullet holes, to federal investigators.

Earlier, students had demanded the dormitory be left intact. "They felt it should be left as a reminder to the world of what's going on in Mississippi as far as Blacks are concerned," Buxton said.

Students have demanded the immediate suspension of all the law enforcement officers who were involved in the shooting, Dr. Aaron Shirley, a prominent Black physician in Jackson and cochairman of the United Front, told *The Militant* by telephone.

The United Front is a coalition of some 30 groups in Mississippi. Dr. Shirley said another probable demand would be the removal of all white law enforcement officers from Black college campuses.

There was talk in Jackson this week of the formation of an armed self-defense apparatus of some unspecified form to prevent further killings by police. The nature of the self-defense effort was not disclosed, but Shirley briefly outlined his views.

"The white folks will no longer be able to come in to shoot down innocent people without risk to their own lives," he said. "We don't intend for kids to be shot for throwing rocks. We feel that we're dealing with immoral beings. They don't respect what we respect. We feel strongly that since they're cowards, if there is some threat on their lives they'd be a little reluctant to take another guy's life and we plan from this day on that this threat is ever present."

The *New York Post* reported May 23 that the Civil Rights Commission has no funds left this fiscal year for field investigations into the deaths in Augusta, Ga., and Jackson, Miss. "A commission spokesman in Washington confirmed that the agency is out

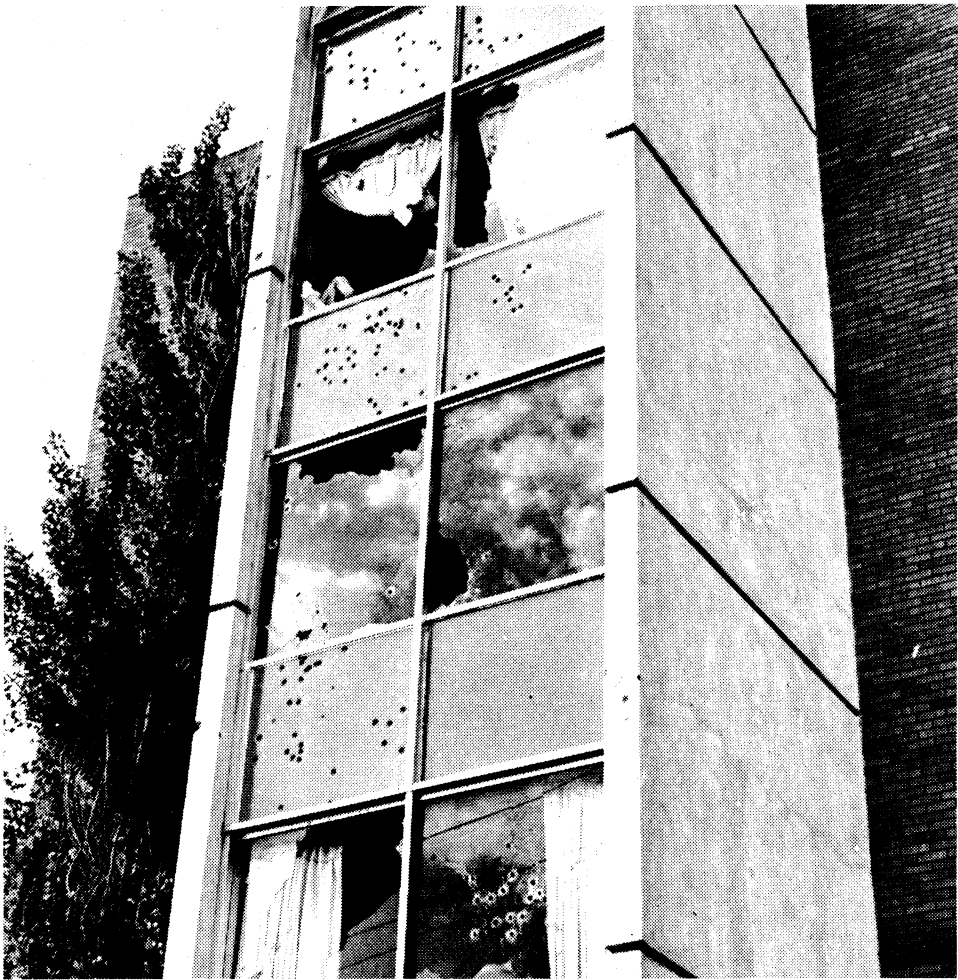


Photo by David Doggett/The Kudzu/LNS

Bullet-riddled dormitory in Jackson, Miss.

of money," the *Post* said.

Dr. Shirley blames Governor John Bell Williams and the Nixon administration for the Jackson massacre. He explained why: "We interpret the law and order theme as directed against us. We are for law, and we are for order. But we are not for law 'of one

side as it is practiced in Mississippi. So when Mr. Nixon, Mr. Agnew, or Mitchell do their standard theme on law and order, it is, to us, giving the white law enforcement people in Mississippi a license to kill Black folks under the pretense of providing law and order."

Socialist summer schools announced

By GUS HOROWITZ

"... it is important for you and me to spend time learning about the past so we can better understand the present, analyze it, and then do something about it."

— Malcolm X

Taking this as its motto, the Atlanta chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party have announced a Southwide Socialist Summer School to run from June 14-Aug. 23. Socialist activists from all over the Southeast are expected to attend. This is but one of many socialist

summer schools now being organized by the YSA and SWP in major cities all over the country. Their purpose is to fuse revolutionary understanding with revolutionary action.

Topics that have been outlined for the socialist summer schools show the seriousness of purpose behind them. Some examples of the programs that have been outlined point this out.

The Ohio Marxist Summer School to be held in Cleveland announced four main areas of study: History and Theory of the Cuban Revolution; History of Revolutionary Organization; Third World Liberation; and Women's Liberation.

The Illinois Socialist Summer School, taking place in Chicago, has outlined a series of 24 classes, running from June 21-Sept. 15, including four major topics: Building the Revolutionary Party, including lessons of the Bolshevik Party, the degeneration that took place in the Stalin era, the rise of the Trotskyist opposition and the problems of building a Leninist party for the American socialist revolution; The Role of the Working Class and the Student Movement; Women's Liberation and Socialism; and National Liberation and the Revolutionary Party, including the study of the Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican liberation struggles.

The New York Summer School, in addition to classes on the Leninist party, the Black and Chicano libera-

tion struggles and women's liberation, has also scheduled a series on Revolutionary Marxism versus Anarchism, Terrorism and Ultraleftism.

These and many other examples point to a well-rounded series of classes on basic Marxism.

One of the features of the revolutionary socialist movement is its concern for education as well as action. The socialist summer schools are not designed as sterile academic exercises as is the norm in the bourgeois university, but as a means to better enable revolutionaries to carry out their political activity. There are no grades, exams or papers, but the common purpose of working towards human liberation is sufficient motivation for all. Among the teachers are many prominent Marxist educators whose credentials always include active participation and leadership in the revolutionary struggle.

As a result of the recent student strike upsurge on the campuses, there has been increased interest in socialist ideas, indicating that the socialist summer schools will be attended by hundreds of newly radicalized youth.

Those interested in attending one of the socialist summer schools can obtain information from the Young Socialist Alliance, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003; or Socialist Workers Party, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Just mail in the coupon.

international socialist review

in the June issue...

... an interview with Chen Pi-lan about women's liberation in China; an article by George Novack on Marxism versus terrorism; an article by Dick Roberts on the contemporary economic status of Third World peoples in the United States; an article by Ernest Mandel on world Trotskyism today; two important documents of the Chicano struggle; a report on "repression" from rural Minnesota; an editorial on the new stage of the antiwar movement plus departments and reviews.

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♀ Women's liberation notes

Canadian women demanding repeal of the national abortion law brought the proceedings of the House of Commons to a halt May 11 when they attempted to address the legislators from the gallery. The adjournment was the government's only reply thus far to a campaign being waged to eliminate section 237 of the Canadian Criminal Code, which makes it a crime to seek or perform an abortion.

The action in the house culminated three days of demonstrations involving over 600 women in Ottawa and hundreds more in local demonstrations across the country.

Approximately 175 women attended a Conference to Unite Women in Los Angeles May 16-17. The gathering featured speeches by participants in the women's liberation movement, a panel discussion on "Women's Liberation, Do We Need a Revolution?," and workshops. The final plenary passed a series of motions including support for actions demanding child-care centers, the building of a mass march and rally for free abortion on demand, and support for the May 30 antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles.

Miss USA herself has now joined the ranks of those who oppose beauty contests as exploitative of women. Looking back at her year as a contest winner, Wendy Dascomb now says: "Before I won, beauty contests were a myth to me. I look at it today and see that it's all wrapped up in selling. Sell me, sell a swinsuit. It all revolves around money, it's big business."

Up From Under is a new women's liberation magazine published in New York. The first issue is filled with articles, poems, and reviews on such topics as "Drowning in the Steno Pool," "Planned Obsolescence, the Middle-Aged Woman," and "The Liberation of Children." Subscriptions are \$2.50 for five issues. Order from *Up From Under*, 339 Lafayette St., N. Y., N. Y. 10012.

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Photo by Howard Petrick

Women's liberation contingent in April 15 New York antiwar demonstration.

Post-Mother's-Day thought: "Anybody can be a mother. An oyster is a mother. The difficult thing is to be a person."—Charlotte Perkins Gilman, as quoted in *Aphra*.

In laying down "guidelines" to be followed once the New York abortion law goes into effect July 1, New York state and city health authorities have ruled that abortions can only be performed in hospitals. The ruling is sup-

posedly designed to protect the health of women in New York, but by preventing the creation of clinics outside of hospitals which could provide abortions at a minimal cost, it may have the opposite effect.

Poor women who cannot afford hospital fees may still be at the mercy of the same unqualified, cheap abortionists they went to before the bill was passed. It is interesting to note that the question of the cost of hospital

Women in the leadership of antiwar campus actions

By ELIZABETH BARNES

Women's liberation forces in many areas around the country moved into action as part of the recent campus upsurge.

In Cleveland, a women's caucus was formed at Case Western Reserve University as a result of the strike. The caucus was originally called by a small group to discuss problems of women's participation in the leadership of the strike, but by the second meeting it had expanded to 50 members and had broadened to take up other women's liberation issues as well. The group decided to get the strike steering committee to call for a campus child-care center, run by the students, faculty and staff that use it. A temporary center was set up in campus facilities available to the strikers. Plans are also being made for a women's liberation contingent in the May 30 Cleveland antiwar demonstration.

At Kirkland College, a small women's school in Clinton, N. Y., the women's liberation group organized and led the strike. Campus facilities were used to mobilize women in the community against the war. The students say that previous to this they always relied on nearby Hamilton College (a men's school) to take the lead in any actions in the area. This time, the women took the initiative.

Another area where women's liberation forces were in the leadership of the

student strike was at State University in Old Westbury, Long Island. There, workshops were set up in the community to discuss women's liberation and the war in Southeast Asia.

At Harpur College in Binghamton, N. Y., the women's liberation group was active in building the strike and was able to form a women's caucus which drew into it women not yet involved in women's liberation.

A central demand raised by protesters at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa was for an end to rules which discriminate against women. The students cite the 1964 Civil Rights Act which prohibits discriminatory practices on the basis of sex as proof that such rules are unlawful.

In Berkeley, 12,000 strikers at the University of California voted to set up a women's studies department on campus and to create a child-care center.

A women's collective taking part in the strike at Portland State University set up a child-care center, and funds were demanded from the university to support it.

San Diego Women United Against the War marched at the head of a May 9 demonstration of 12,000. A day-care center was set up at the YWCA during the action, and before the start of the demonstration, the women's contingent marched together from the YWCA to the starting point.

abortions was the one thing not discussed in the "guidelines."

New York city health officials have also restricted abortions to city residents although they conceded it may be difficult to determine who is a resident and who is not.

The fashion industry is now decreeing, as it does every several years, that women everywhere must contribute to their profits by throwing out their old wardrobes and buying new ones. Like it or not, the miniskirt is out, the midi is in.

Interestingly enough though, the designers have conceded that there is more resistance to this latest change than to any previous one. Many women who resent the obvious manipulation involved and who have neither the time, patience or money to make the switch, are attempting to proclaim their independence from the dictates of fashion.

Chauvinist quote of the week—"I feel that women should not complain about the new longer lengths, because most don't have the figures for the shorter one. Don't get me wrong. I appreciate a nice miniskirt, tripping down the Champs Elysees, or on the White House staff—there are plenty of minis here.

"But my advice to the girls is: They shouldn't feel sad about hems coming down. To a man, there's mystery in what's hidden. One of the most alluring things I see are the bikinis on the Florida Gold Coast. I don't want to go back to the bloomer girls, just to cover up a bit more. But Oriental women, with their ad-dai slacks and their slit skirts, make a mistake in going to Western dress—theirs is more feminine."—President Nixon, from an interview with Paul Healy of the *Daily News*.

—ELIZABETH BARNES

Arrests follow DeKalb action

By RICH GREEN

DEKALB, Ill., May 19—Thirty-five students at Northern Illinois University were arrested here last night following an on-campus demonstration of 3,000 to protest the killings at Augusta, Kent State and Jackson State. Those arrested included several uninvolved bystanders and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance who was attempting to arrange bail for the others.

The arrests came after a group of about 200 headed for the center of the city after the end of the rally. The YSAer, Tex Xelowski, had taken the names of the arrested students and returned to the rumor-control center in the University Center to arrange bail. He was accompanied by John Hartley, a reporter for the *Northern Star*, and Pat McMananan, a student association senator.

When they reached the center, they were approached by several policemen. One of them called Xelowski by his first name and told him to get off the streets. Xelowski said he would. But before he could leave, the cops arrested him for "throwing rocks."

Both Hartley and McMananan testified in signed statements that they had been with Xelowski during the entire period and that he had not thrown any rocks.

The obviously political nature of Xelowski's arrest is shown by the fact that when one cop was about to release him, another said, "Don't let him go; he's a ringleader." It was then that the rock-throwing charge was fabricated and the Young Socialist activist led off to jail.

Xelowski is now out on bail. His trial has been set for June 16.

Interview with Arie Bober (III)

Status of anti-Zionism within Israel today

The following is the final installment of excerpts from an interview with Arie Bober, a member of the revolutionary socialist, anti-Zionist Israeli Socialist Organization. Bober is currently on a speaking tour in the United States under the auspices of the Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East. In the first and second installments which appeared in *The Militant* May 15 and May 22, Bober discussed the status of the anti-Zionist left in Israel today, the activities of the ISO, and the repression carried out by the Israeli regime.

Ahmed Shukeiry, who Bober refers to in the answer to the first question, was the spokesman for the Palestine Liberation Organization prior to the June 1967 war. The organization was at that time under Arab League control.

The interview originally appeared in the April 20 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. Anyone interested in information on Bober's tour should contact Berta Langston, secretary, Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East, 145 E. 16th St., Apt. 9C, New York, N. Y. 10003.

* * *

Q. Has the repudiation by a number of the Palestinian liberation organizations of the call to "drive the Jews into the sea" had any effect in winning sections of the Jewish working class away from the Zionist government?

A. There was nothing more effective than Shukeiry's propaganda before the June war in solidifying all the Israelis. After the war the Israeli mass media put two simple alternatives before the country: "Either you are a Zionist, and in spite of any humanitarian or liberal outlook you may have you must support what the government does, or you have only one other choice, buy a boat and go to sea."

Our main propaganda work is aimed at breaking this equation. I think the declarations of the Palestinian groups have had some impact; they are good. They have forced Golda Meir to address herself to those elements in Israel who want to see some sort of settlement.

In our opinion there are still important questions to be resolved beyond the rejection of the slogan "All the Jews into the sea," although that is a vital step.

Fateh looks at the Jews in the Middle East as they were in the Arab countries before Zionism began, that is, as a religious community. Therefore what they propose is the usual liberal formula of the separation of religion from the state and equal rights for all citizens.

There are other groups which go further than this and recognize the national rights of the Jewish community without specifying concrete slogans or concrete transitional formations.

There is one thing for sure, the more the propaganda from the Arab organizations recognizes the character of the Jewish community and grants it some sort of self-expression, either political, cultural, or ethnical, the harder it is for the government to pose for the Jews the question as "either adhere to us or commit suicide."

There is no visible impact among the workers, however, of Fateh's propaganda. The more educated and the European-oriented workers are the most integrated into the Zionist machine, both the machinery of the state and the machinery of Histadrut [the General Federation of Labor in Israel].

For the Oriental Jews the situation is more complicated. Their position is very similar to that of the poor white in the American South. From their recent past in the Arab countries and their position in Israel they need to be much more Zionist than the Zionists.

The more revolutionary attitude of various Arab groups outside of Fateh regarding the Israeli community as a national community requiring a national right of expression of some sort has certainly had an impact on the youth and some radical intellectuals.

Q. Has the grip of the Zionist organizations on the general population been strengthened since the June war?

A. Yes. The June war revived Zionism. Before the war there was a great emigration out of the country, especially of skilled people, intellectuals, university graduates. Today this has been reversed.

Before the June war, in part because of the economic recession in 1965-1966, there was a general sentiment that something had to be done, that major changes were needed. Today there is virtually a complete unification on basic issues, not only by individuals but by parties which before the war presented themselves as being so opposite each other. Today almost everybody agrees and everybody assumes that there is no fundamental argument between them. There is only a dispute on marginal issues.

Certainly you can say that Zionism, as a colonization movement, was one of a very particular kind, because of its attempt to solve the Jewish question by creating a whole nation; it was different from the usual colonization pattern. But today even from this point of view it is beginning to turn towards the pattern of South Africa and Rhodesia.

On the other hand something must be stressed. All this is not a strengthening of the structure because the regime is solving the basic needs or contradictions of the population; on the contrary. The basic contradictions and interests are only subdued. And we see here and there militant explosions of workers and other sectors, spontaneous things that break out.

At best the Zionists prolong the crisis. They put it forward in time but they don't solve anything. The key is to convince the Israeli public that there is a viable alternative. Nobody in his right mind would accept higher



Photo by John Gray

ANTI-ZIONIST, ANTIWAR. Arab students in Los Angeles demonstrate May 9. After registering solidarity with Palestinian revolution they went on to join in antiwar demonstration held that day.

taxes, killings, no democratic rights, etc., unless they were sure there were no other alternatives.

Q. What perspective do you see for resolving the crisis in the Middle East?

A. In our opinion, Zionism as a self-liberation movement of the Jews is a contradiction. Zionism tried to solve the Jewish problem; it didn't succeed. Instead, it created a revival of the Jewish problem and added the Israeli problem.

Any attempt to solve the Israeli-Arab conflict must take into account one very important factor. This is not simply a dispute that started between two nations, normal nations, like the Germans and the French, over some marginal land or some past grievances.

On the other hand it is also not simply a dispute between a settlers' community versus the indigenous society.

It is both. This stems from the history and practice of the Zionist enterprise.

Therefore this Israeli-Arab conflict is impossible to solve as long as the Jewish community remains a settlers' community engaged in a colonialist undertaking. The necessary first condition, which is not enough by itself, should be to abolish, in certain ways, this settlers' characteristic. In our slogans this is called the de-Zionization of Israel. This means the abolishing of all laws that give privileges to the Jews.

But this is not enough. You cannot have the illusion that you can solve such a problem purely on a national basis, which means any sort of isolation, either of the Israelis or of the Palestinians from the entire region of the Arab East.

Any such isolation first of all would not abolish this basic contradiction between settlers and the indigenous population and would create two new small states which could not be by

themselves anything but stooges of the imperialists.

Any such "solution" would not challenge the imperialist status quo. It would involve a compromise with imperialism—both with the Zionist ally of imperialism and with the imperialist stooges still in power in some Arab countries. Zionism cannot be defeated without defeating imperialism; any compromise with the status quo anywhere in the Middle East is thus in reality also a compromise with Zionism. Thus, such a proposal is fundamentally reformist, not revolutionary.

To put it in slogan form, we propose a solution by de-Zionization of Israel and by integrating a de-Zionized, socialist Israel into a socialist Middle East. Then the question of the national self-determination of the Jews or the Palestinians would become secondary because the basic thing is the class struggle and the anti-imperialist struggle in the whole Middle East.

Putting it negatively, we have a disagreement with the Fateh group, for instance, over their assumption that this conflict can be resolved on the basis of Palestine alone; because in reality, the conditions of a settlement involve the entire region.

After a revolution, or in the process of the revolution, the question of national minorities like the Israelis or the Kurds can be dealt with. But to try to pose the question as one between an Israeli majority and a Palestinian minority—or vice versa—is the wrong way and leads to wrong conclusions.

We advocate a revolutionary struggle by Jews and Arabs. We think that the major factor should be a joint revolutionary organization of Arabs, Jews, and other minorities in the whole Middle East and the creation of a socialist revolutionary Middle East. Within this framework, the problem of non-Arab minorities could be dealt with in the socialist tradition, by the acknowledgment of the principle of self-determination.

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An inmate's story:

Prison life in Trinidad



Thousands of Trinidad youths in protest demonstration in Port of Spain Feb. 26. Student demonstrations against foreign imperialism led to the massive upsurge of April.

In the wake of the recent explosive development of the Black power movement in Trinidad, *Militant* correspondent Tony Thomas visited Port of Spain and other cities in Trinidad to gather first-hand information (see *The Militant*, May 8).

On his return he brought with him the following account of the experiences of one Trinidadian who was imprisoned during the current state of emergency. The account was given to Thomas by friends of the prisoner who asked that it be circulated as widely as possible because they will be unable to print it in Trinidad.

At least 40 leaders of the Black power movement are still detained under the Emergency Laws; 12 have been charged with sedition, and no charges have yet been filed against the others. A writ of habeas corpus was issued ordering that George Weekes, a prominent union leader under detention, be produced in court. The government defied a court order, and the union is proceeding against the home affairs minister, Gerard Montano, for contempt of court. In addition, 27 soldiers have been charged with treason, punishable by death, for their alleged role in the army rebellion.

It was a drab cell. There was a small hole for air which was virtually sealed off with iron bars and wire

mesh. A bulb on the north wall stayed on day and night. That wall of the cell was covered with filth, evidence of the attempts of previous prisoners to destroy the bulb. The cell was about 16 feet by 14 feet.

There were two boards on which to lie down. These could hold four persons lying full length. There were soon to be many more in the cell. To the south there was a small septic bowl—the odor of the septic tank was suffocating, since very little fresh air came in.

Later, a whole number of "guests" began to arrive, including five rebel soldiers, one drunkard, one country councilor, one ex-policeman, one trade unionist, one politician, one lawyer, one teacher and many poor unemployed.

The first to add to our number was Walter Aramunthudo. He told us he was charged with "keeping a meeting and trying to influence the public prejudicial to public safety." Later Victor Marcano, secretary of the UNIP [United National Independence Party], arrived. He said he was driving down the street and was stopped by police, then taken to the headquarters where a police officer said: "That's Marcano, secretary of [James] Millette's party, who wants to be the next prime minister. Throw him into a cell."

Later, 10 others from Tobago, including Bayliss Frederick, first vice-chairman of UNIP, were thrown into the cell. They said they had been held since Tuesday and hadn't eaten since. The brothers from Tobago had been severely beaten. Five of them were taken out and beaten once more. Later on they were taken to Nelson Island prison.

More prisoners came, bringing the number to 27. One boy said that he was bathing by the sea near Carenage when police called him out of the water, carried him to the police station, beat him with their batons and gun butts, and cut off his hair.

Another said he was going home from a shop when he was seized by police and charged with making Molotov cocktails. A snow-cone vendor was sleeping at home when the police broke in his door, pulled him out of bed, and began to beat him. They carried him off to the police headquarters and pocketed his transistor radio in the bargain.

One student in our cell had a heart attack and nervous breakdown and has since been in a mental home. An ex-soldier went mad for two hours, banging bars and throwing the boards for sleeping all over the place.

We were transferred to another cell where a number of boys 15 to 26 years old showed marks of extreme brutality on their faces and clothes. One had his whole head in bandages, his face swollen, his lips black. He was lying down because he could hardly move. On Wednesday, between 20 and 40 people were severely beaten. Their screams were like those in a

German concentration camp.

Since all the cells were now filled, we were made to sleep in the passageway. A policeman lined up several persons, and addressed one saying, "Put up your hands and say 'power' now." He lifted the man's hands, forced him to say "power," and then struck him with a gun butt in the arm.

During the time we spent in the cell, no one was permitted to see us nor

could we see anyone or send any messages. There was a consciousness of all whom I met that as soon as they came out they were going to beat or shoot the "fuzz" and that the revolution—far from over—it had just begun. For in their point of view, society had been polarized between the PNM [People's National Movement] and the police on one side, and the people on the other side.

Iran arrests total 207 in new wave of repression

The Iranian Students Association in the United States has reported that during the past two months 207 people have been imprisoned in Iran for political "crimes." The names of 37 of them are known and have been released by the World Confederation of Iranian Students.

The ISAUS and the World Confederation have called on individuals and organizations to protest this most recent wave of political persecution in the Shah's police state. Specifically, they are demanding that the reasons for the arrest of the 207 prisoners be made public, that trial dates be set and publicly announced, and that international observers be allowed to attend the trials. Letters and telegrams supporting these demands should be sent to Prime Minister Hovayda, Tehran, Iran, or to Iranian consulates.

NEW YORK—In a statement issued here May 12, the Iranian Students Association in New York declared that it "strongly supports the struggle of American students and people against U.S. imperialism." The ISANY expressed its support of the national student demands for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia, the release of all political prisoners, and an end to campus complicity with the war machine.

"We further demand," the statement continued, "that an end be put to the murder of students. The murder of students here has once again revealed the aggressive and brutal nature of U.S. imperialism, a fact long known to the oppressed people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, particularly to those in Indochina."

The statement concludes: "The military dictatorship of the Shah of Iran, which was imposed on the Iranian people by U.S. imperialism (CIA coup of 1953), has been an accomplice and given material and moral support to the U. S. war of aggression in Vietnam. . . .

"At this moment the prisons of Iran are filled with political prisoners, and every day the Shah's henchmen, trained and led by the U.S. imperialist

'advisers,' shed the blood of the best sons and daughters of the Iranian people—in Kurdistan, in Azarbaijan, in the cities and in the countryside. None of this, however, has diminished the resoluteness of our people's struggle, and we shall certainly win final victory."

Community wins high school fight in New York City

By JOSEPH HARRIS
NEW YORK—After weeks of shut-downs, student strikes, rallies, marches, sit-ins, several arrests, student suspensions and various other actions at George Washington High School, agreement was reached May 12 on setting up a parent-staffed complaint table at the school.

The table, to receive complaints and deal with student problems like racist harassment and messed-up schedules, has been the center of the struggle since February.

Rather than meet the legitimate demands of the parents, students and community, the board of education has followed a course of action characterized by broken promises, red tape, the use of riot police in the school, court injunctions, and numerous "negotiations and settlements" (made without parent participation). Principals were even switched and the school completely shut down for a few days.

The United Federation of Teachers also showed its racist opposition by calling a teachers' boycott when the board of education at one point temporarily agreed to the table.

The terms of the final compromise agreement were for two tables to be established, one in the lobby—to screen outsiders—and one in a special office for complaints. The original demand was for one table easily accessible in the lobby.

... D.C., May 9

(Continued from page 4)

for example. All that would have been impossible if not for the movement which mass demonstrations have helped build over the last five years.

Gelber writes as if someone had promised him that a mass demonstration would end the war all by itself. Nobody I know ever made that promise. And only fools would believe anyone who did. The war will be stopped when the stratas of the population who have the raw power to stop it—the labor movement and the GIs—are involved in massive numbers the way the students are now. Gelber points to the idea raised in Washington of a general strike against the war. Good. But how do you get there? Will the workers answer such a call right now? Not unless it is issued by significant sections of the organized labor movement, and that is still to be achieved. But a significant step in that direction is to ask unions and workers to support and endorse and come to a mass demonstration against U. S. involvement in the war. And we can be sure that the mass of labor, GIs, and Third World people want no part of adventures such as that proposed by Davis.

The mass demonstrations are not panaceas, but they are a vital, necessary form. Those who attempt to narrow them to small confrontations are falling into the fallacy of trying to substitute themselves for the broad masses of people that the movement now has the opportunity to reach.

The great society

Pot and sickle — A Birmingham News editorial comes up with a strong case against legalizing pot. The paper advises that researchers unnamed have found that intake breeds "anxiety, vague paranoia and a personality change characterized by radicalized political views and negative attitudes toward society."

Famous-last-words dep't — "I know America's youth. I believe in them." — From Poor Richard's Inaugural Address, January 1969.

Flushed 'em out—A Glasgow court awarded Gordon McLeod \$890 for injuries suffered when a public toilet collapsed beneath him. The court rejected the argument advanced by city attorneys that McLeod had sat down more heavily than required because he had had a couple.

Outselling Calvert's—A large sign on the road into Kokomo, Ind., advises that "Men of distinction prefer God."

Outta sight — According to intelligence gleaned from the *Armed Forces Journal*, a Washington banquet of the American Ordinance Association held the night Nixon announced the Cambodia invasion featured for dessert, *bombe glace fantasie*.

Insufficient vibes—While encouraging people to tune in mass on television as an act of devotion, the Vatican said such viewing does not constitute actual participation in the mass. At a press conference, it was disclosed that the catechism requires bodily presence and moral communion with the priest. Besides, the commercials could turn you off.

Switch to the Militant—According to John DeLury, president of the New York sanitation workers union, it costs New York taxpayers \$13.26 million a year to collect discarded Sunday editions of the *New York Times* and *Daily News*.

The seeing survivor—A patent has been issued for contact lenses that provide protection against flash blindness caused by nuclear explosion. Developed for Navy pilots, the lenses include a fluid which turns dense in less than 100-millionth of a second after being triggered by an ultraviolet flash from the pilot's helmet. The ultraviolet light is triggered when the bomb goes off.

War-is-hell dep't—What with 15 U.S. newsmen already captured in Cambodia, Hertz—which doesn't have to try as hard—is demanding a \$400 deposit on its rental cars in that country.

Thought for the week—"It is my feeling that action in a combat zone is warranted if it leads to success of the mission. This sudden burst of tears for the civilians of Mai Lai is just so much emotional poppycock." —Col. Virgil Caldwell, USA (Ret.) as quoted in the April 25 *Armed Forces Journal*.

— HARRY RING

Discussion marred by factionalism

600 attend Congress to Unite Women

By JUDY WHITE

(During the past month *The Militant* has devoted almost all of its space to the campus upsurge that erupted in the wake of the Cambodian invasion and the Kent Massacre. Because of this we were forced to hold many of our regular features and other important articles.

(The following account of the Congress to Unite Women, held in New York over the May 1 weekend, is one of the articles we were unable to print earlier. Given its importance, we are publishing it despite the delay.)

Despite factionalism which continually threatened to blow up the Congress to Unite Women held in New York City May 1-3, over 600 women registered for the gathering and participated in workshops and discussions. Significantly, a show of hands taken at the opening plenary revealed that over half the women attending were new to the women's liberation movement.

Workshops on a whole range of topics of concern to the women's movement were marked by fruitful, serious discussion. Many came up with proposals for continuing action around issues such as childcare, secondary

education and an end to abortion restrictions.

Compared with the first Congress to Unite Women held in the Northeast last November, the level of discussion on the issues was higher, reflecting the development of the movement and a deeper consciousness of the oppression of women. It was also evident that some women in the movement have developed more defined political positions over the past months, so the differences among us were clearer and sharper.

This fact became obvious on the very first night of the Congress when the gay women's caucus took the floor and led a discussion on their special problems as gay women in the women's liberation movement.

The gay women, along with others from a group called the Class Workshop, set a tone of attacking the other women present at the Congress for being racist, sexist, and unconcerned about the problems of working class women. While some of the issues raised were valid, the way they were presented was not conducive to a discussion on how to deal with these issues within the framework of our common concerns as women.

This same lack of respect for the other women present at the Congress carried over into the second day when participants in the workshop on "How Women Are Divided" came to the evening plenary with an ultimatum that we discuss only the subject matter of their group—that all issues other than class and race were irrelevant.

The situation was not improved at all by the moderate women—like the Democratic Party supporters—one of whom had been arbitrarily appointed chairwoman for the plenary session and started it off in a very heavy-handed way.

The result was that most workshops were never reported out to the plenary, action proposals were not adequately discussed, and no continuing structure for Congress participants was set up.

Under the pretext that the Congress was using male forms of organization (Roberts' Rules of Order), the groups that disrupted the proceedings virtually prevented any fruitful dis-

cussion from taking place among the women as a whole—even on the issues they felt should be the focus of discussion for the group! Such strong arm tactics were hardly a departure from male or female forms of disruption at many radical conferences in recent months. Furthermore, there was no chance for the many new women attending the Congress to even express opinions on what they wanted to discuss.

These problems clearly resulted from the fact that there was no central focus for the Congress and a lack of leadership.

One obvious lesson must be drawn. Given the disagreements within the movement, if we are to continue to have broad conferences which are representative of women with many different points of view, the only way to settle the inevitable disagreements which come up is democratically—that is by majority rule.

Despite the differences that exist, there are questions on which we can and *must* unite, such as demands for free twenty-four hour child-care centers controlled by those who use them, free abortion on demand, and an end to tracking and sexist education in public schools. We have to be organized so that programs of action to fight for the things that unite us can be hammered out.

Only when the right of all to be heard and the right of all ideas to be discussed are established can we build the women's liberation movement and reach out to the millions of women who must be involved in the fight to end our oppression as women.



"Don't get too complacent about the Women's Liberation Movement. The Army couldn't take over if WE went on strike!"

Local socialist directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Pamela Starsky, P.O. Box 750, Tempe Arizona 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.

Hayward: YSA, Marc Rich, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hilary St., Hayward, Calif. 94544. Tel: (415) 537-3656 or (415) 537-3657.

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Turlock: Valley YSA, Michael Klein, c/o Associated Students, Stanislaus State College, 800 Monte Vista Ave., Turlock, Calif. 95380.

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Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Jack Lieberman, 509 W. Jefferson, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.

DeKalb: YSA, Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Randy Green, 732 E. Atwater, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Ft. Wayne: YSA, c/o Bill Cullnane, 243 Paulette Pl.,

Ft. Wayne, Ind. 46805.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Fred Murphy, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981 (HQ), 547-8557.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.

Ypsilanti: YSA, Box 156, Charles McKenny Union, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

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St. Louis: YSA, c/o Bill Onasch, 316 Laurel, #A9, St. Louis, Mo. 63112. Tel: (314) 725-3972.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, P.O. Box 627, Newark, N.J. 07101. Tel: (201) 678-6005.

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Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 15 Creighton St., Providence, R.I. 02902.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

El Paso: YSA, UTEP, P.O. Box 178, El Paso, Texas 79999.

HOUSTON: YSA, Campus Activities, University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 1319 F. St. NW., Rm. 1010, Wash., D.C. Tel: (202) 638-0610 or 965-1943.

WASHINGTON: Cheney: E. Wash. State YSA, Sub Box 1040, EWSC, Cheney, Wash. 99004. Tel: 235-6749.

Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

Tacoma: YSA, c/o John Naubert, P.O. Box 309, Tacoma, Wash. 98401.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wisc. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

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Life in an Auto Plant

By Tom Cagle 25c

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Atlanta rally of 10,000 tops off Georgia march

By DERRICK MORRISON

ATLANTA, May 23 — Over 10,000 people attended an anti-repression, antiwar rally here today on the Morehouse College Mall. Every speaker linked the stifling of political dissent at home—Kent, Augusta, Jackson State—to the continuation and deepening of the war in Southeast Asia.

The rally, called by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was supported by several unions as well as the Atlanta antiwar movement.

The crowd, predominantly Black and militant, booed Atlanta mayor Sam Massell off the platform. "We just finished a garbage strike in Atlanta, Georgia, a strike where the mayor of Atlanta called out the riot squad. Atlanta is showing off today. Five weeks ago the city was ready to crush us," remarked Hosea Williams in explanation later on.

Williams, regional vice-president of the SCLC had just led some 200 people on a 110 mile march from Perry, Ga. The march was initiated when Blacks from every corner of the state wrote and phoned SCLC demanding something be done in the aftermath of the Augusta massacre.

That march ended this morning at Ebenezer Baptist Church, where more than 8,000 people stood ready to march across town to the Morehouse Mall. Typical of the signs carried by the Perry marchers was one that said, "Cut Welfare to Indochina, Bring the Troops Home Now."

At Ebenezer, Black people from all over the East Coast and Midwest gathered. A three car liberation train brought Black students from Federal City College and Teachers' College in Washington, D.C. There were over 200 students from Florida A & M and Florida State University in Tallahassee. The administration had helped mobilize students at A & M; the Black Student Union and the Student Mobilization Committee were the principal organizers at FSU.

The National Council of Distributive Workers of America put together a contingent of close to 100 Black workers. While several had come from Charleston, S.C., the majority included workers from the Genesco Shoe Factory and sisters from Georgia Baptist Hospital, both Atlanta institutions.

The march from Ebenezer, under a scorching sun, was led by the mule-drawn cart and caskets that had made the journey from Perry.

Walking at the head were the projected speakers at the rally. Among them were Mrs. Coretta Scott King; Dr. Ralph David Abernathy, president of SCLC; LeRoi Jones, [Imamu Amer Baraka], poet, playwright and a leader in the Newark Black community; Rev. Jesse Jackson of SCLC and Operation Breadbasket in Chicago; Rev. Andrew Young of SCLC and a Democratic Party candidate for Congress from the 5th district in Atlanta; Cleveland Robinson, president of the National Council of Distributive Workers; Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers; and Democratic Senator George McGovern from South Dakota.

When the march finally made it to the mall, several hundred students from the predominately Black campuses of the Atlanta University complex joined in.

Most of the speakers denounced the war and political repression, placing the blame clearly at the door of the White House—Richard Milhous Nixon. But they tended to forget the criminal actions of the party that initiated and escalated the war, stifled dissent, and put down the ghetto rebellions from Watts to Detroit, namely, the Democratic Party. With such short-sightedness, the alternative offered by some speakers was working for Democratic Party "peace" candidates.

A partial exception to this line was LeRoi Jones. Like most of the Black speakers, Jones related that, "Repression against us [Black people] and violence against us is nothing new. . . . The life-style of America is murdering Blacks." He went on to say, "You must organize so that we can survive America. . . . You must have Black political power in order to get self-respect, self-defense, and self-determination."

What the rally expressed was a rising sense of anger at the Nixon administration. And we can expect that anger, as it did here, to go beyond the ballot box and into the streets.



Photo by Howard Petrick

Over 500 New York nurses marched against the war May 23.

SMC meeting maps plans; assault by PL rebuffed

By CAROLINE LUND

BOSTON, May 24 — A national steering committee meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee met here today to discuss the current stage of the student strike upsurge and future perspectives. The meeting, held at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was attended by some 230 antiwar and student strike leaders from across the country. It suffered a disruption at one point when a gang organized by the Progressive Labor Party assaulted the meeting in an unsuccessful attempt to break it up. Despite the disruption, the discussions were fruitful.

The body decided that a key task for the SMC in the coming three weeks would be to build the conference called by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council for the June 20 weekend. The conference will discuss the date and character of mass antiwar actions in the fall. After the conference the SMC will hold another expanded steering committee meeting to continue the discussion which was begun today.

The May 30 demonstrations were the second key focus of activity endorsed by the SMC meeting. Don Gurewitz, in his opening report on general perspectives, said he thought the May 30 demonstrations should be seen as a turning point for the student movement.

"We've got to be audacious," he said. "We've got to go all out now to involve

the labor movement, the Black and Brown communities, the GIs and other sectors of the population in the antiwar movement. The question now is not *whether* the rest of the population will explode against the war, but *when* they will do so."

The violent attack on the meeting was made by an organized gang of 55-60 members of the Progressive Labor Party and Students for a Democratic Society who attempted to storm into the room. The meeting was successfully defended. The attackers were stopped short of the door, and they soon dispersed realizing the impossibility of obtaining their objective. The meeting was then able to resume for another two hours to complete its business.

In the course of the attack, John McCann, the coordinator of the Massachusetts Vietnam Referendum 70, suffered a broken nose, severe injuries to both hands, and serious injuries to one eye. He was admitted to the hospital. Five other SMCers, less seriously injured, were treated at the campus infirmary or hospital and released.

Individuals from the following groups volunteered to participate in the defense of the meeting: Boston Female Liberation, Beacon Hill Support Group, Draft Information Center, Workers League, Citizens for Participation Politics, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Workers Party, International Socialists, and Susan Stewart from the National Organization for Women.

The SMC meeting passed a motion in response to the assault, stating: "The National Steering Committee of SMC calls for a nationwide campaign against the use of violence within the movement and for the right of all groups to hold meetings without disruption."

"The SMC also calls upon Students for a Democratic Society and Progressive Labor Party to repudiate the attack made upon the national SMC steering committee meeting by members of PL and SDS."

How you can help spread The Militant

Since the beginning of May, **The Militant** has published five special issues, almost entirely devoted to covering the unprecedented upsurge of the student and antiwar movement that followed the invasion of Cambodia and the murder of youth in Kent, Augusta, and Jackson.

We have sent reporters around the country to get the full stories behind all these events and provide coverage available in no other paper.

But we urgently need extra financial support to enable us to meet the costs of the special issues and to make it possible to respond in a similar manner as future events require.

We have already received an encouraging response from our supporters across the country. But we still need help.

Send in as generous a contribution as you can. Do it today.

Sales in South never bigger!

ATLANTA, May 23 — Over 800 copies of the special issue of **The Militant** carrying first-hand accounts of the police killings in Augusta and Jackson were sold here today. It was the largest **Militant** sale ever in Atlanta, and supporters indicated that even more could have been sold — had they been available.